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A HISTORY : : : 1608-1903

Editor HOWARD M. JENKINS

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PENNSYLVANIA COLONIAL AND FEDERAL · A HISTORY

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA, it will be conceded by all familiar with the subject, has not heretofore been presented in any work with the fullness or the breadth of treatment to which it has been entitled. There have been numerous essays toward it, from the time of Robert Proud down to a more recent day, some of them worthy of much appreciation and deserving of high praise, yet it still remained true that at the end of three centuries our Commonwealth and its people were without an adequate and a completely satisfactory history. It was to supply such a history that Howard M. Jenkins, several years since, undertook the preparation and supervision of the volumes which are now submitted to the public. The subject is itself one of unusual complexity. To the making of Pennsylvania, in the early time, many streams of life contributed, and the mingling and fusion of these, not without friction and even conflict, is a theme which called for an open mind and a just discrimination. So, too, since the Colony became the State, its career has been directed and illustrated by men of varying characters, qualities and opinions. To the development of its vast material interests and the upbuilding of its industries, energy and capital have been applied in a degree practically unequalled in the world's experience. To attain the high standard of excellence necessary to properly cover this varied subject, well known authorities on special periods and topics have made con-

tributions to the narrative that have materially enhanced its scope and value. Of the portions of this work so contributed may be especially mentioned the Educational System by Nathan C. Schaeffer; Pennsylvania Journalism by Alexander K. McClure; the Iron Industry by James M. Swank; the Coal Fields by Dolph B. Atherton; Forestry by Joseph T. Rothrock; chapters eight to eighteen of volume one and chapters one to four of volume two by Charles P. Keith; a portion of the chapter on the Medical Profession by Charles W. Dulles; Pittsburgh and its Environs by William J. Holland; Allegheny County Judiciary by John D. Shafer. Other most valuable material has been contributed or assistance rendered by public spirited citizens in various parts of the Commonwealth, among whom are Stanley Woodward, Lewis Arthur Watres, James T. Mitchell, Hampden L. Carson, Samuel W. Pennypacker, George Wharton Pepper, Lewis R. Harley, C. LaRue Munson, John P. Vincent, John W. Simonton, Robert Snodgrass, Martin Bell, Joshua Douglass, John Dalzell, William Perrine, William M. Brown, Benjamin Whitman, George Morris Philips, Albert S. Bolles, George Edward Reed, Horace E. Hayden, William A. Kelker, Samuel B. Shearer, Mrs. William M. Darlington, Mrs. Louise Welles Murray, Henry Graham Ashmead, Julius F. Sachse, Albert Rosenthal, Robert W. Leslie, Frank Reeder, E. W. Spangler, C. D. Clark, Lewis Cass Aldrich, and H. Perry Smith. The valuable help extended by the officers and assistants in the public libraries throughout the State, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, The American Philosophical Society, The Historical Society of Dauphin County, The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, The Tioga Point Historical Society, and other similar organizations deserves particular mention and gratitude.

THE PUBLISHERS.

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Pennsylvania

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CHAPTER I

THE INDIANS OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE stream of American history flows from a source comparatively near—the arrival here of white men from Europe. In the year when Elizabeth of England died, 1603, no white man, it is safe to say, had ever seen the region which we call PENNSYLVANIA. Its vast woods, its great rivers, its unique mineral treasures, were then as unknown to the wisest geographer of the Old World as were the deepest jungles of Africa, or the farthest ice-floes of the polar seas.

The opening years of the Seventeenth Century become thus the initial period for our narrative. The arrival of the white men, and the human experiences growing out of that epochal event, form the story which we have to tell.

Yet Pennsylvania had its own inhabitants, a people who possessed no doubt a long and romantic history, when the ships of the white men came. They were tribes of that red race whom, since the voyages of Columbus, and because of his geographical error, we have called *Indians*. Their presence and influence form the background to all American history, and we must pause to consider them before we can intelligently proceed. We have some sources of knowledge concerning them as they appeared when the white men came: their own traditions, legends, and folk-lore; evidence afforded by their arms, implements, and utensils; descriptions of them by the white people who saw them early: and finally study of them under the light which we have gained

concerning the life of similar primitive peoples throughout the world. Yet with the best efforts to utilize all these sources our knowledge of the Indians remains meagre and unsatisfying.

It may be said, in brief, that the whole of Pennsylvania, in the year 1600, was the Indians' land. While they did not occupy it, in a strict sense of the word, they enjoyed its complete possession in the manner suited to their way of life; they hunted in the forests, fished in the streams, planted their little crops in the open spaces, and appropriated to their use whatever it might yield them of air to breathe, water to drink, food and shelter, enjoyment and pleasure, warfare and spoil. How many there were of them is wholly left to conjecture. It is agreed that they were few. A century later, an estimate attributed to William Penn supposed there were "ten Indian Nations" in the province, with "about six thousand" souls belonging to them. But this estimate seems too low for the end of the Seventeenth Century, and much too low for its beginning. The original printing of the estimate is in Oldmixon's "British Empire in America," published in 1701.

Who then were these Indians of Pennsylvania? What was their origin? Whence did they come? These are questions most suitable for the archæologist and philologist. If we judge by the evidence of language, the Indians of Eastern Pennsylvania would seem to have come from a parent stock in the far northeast, beyond the St. Lawrence river. Yet they themselves preserved a tradition, which Heckewelder, the pious Moravian missionary, who labored amongst them in the Eighteenth Century, has handed down to us, that they came from the distant west, a region far beyond the Mississippi, and had reached the Delaware after a migration occupying many years, or even centuries, in the course of which, as they passed through what are now the States of the Ohio Valley, they fought with and overcame tribes of that region, though these had desperately defended themselves in fortified places. This tradition is worthy of attention, but it is not a chapter of history.

The Indians

In the concise review that must be here given we shall consider first the Indians of Eastern Pennsylvania, describing them as they probably were when the white men settled on the Delaware, in the first half of the Seventeenth Century. These Indians were a simple and primitive people, not "savage" as to disposition, nor in the stage of development properly designated by that word. They had long possessed and used fire. They subsisted only in part by the chase and the fishery; they depended in part for their food on a systematic tillage of the soil. They had developed some arts of manufacture. Their arms and implements were mostly of the Stone Age, but they had begun to emerge from it. They had a political system well settled and effective. Their social usages were in many particulars well developed and strictly observed. They comprehended and in a degree regarded moral obligations, and their ideas of religion exhibited a glimmering of the highest truth.

Along the Delaware river, on both sides, from the New York line—and beyond—down to the sea, these Indians, afterwards called Delawares, called themselves *Len-â-pé* or *Lenni Len-â-pé*. By language, and presumably by blood, they were members of a great Indian family, the Algonkian, the most extensive in North America. Tribes of this widespread family "stretched from Labrador to the Rocky Mountains, and from the Churchill river of Hudson Bay to Pamlico Sound in North Carolina." Though thus widely scattered, resemblances of language survived, and traditions of relationship were cherished among them all. Many of the Indian tribes with whom the history of the American people is most associated, many whose vigor and persistency of life have made them most familiar in our annals, are or were of this extensive group—Pequots and Narragansetts of New England, Mohegans of New York, Powhatans of Virginia, Shawnees, Miamis, Chippewas, Ottawas of the interior, and Arapahoes, Cheyennes, Blackfeet, and others of the Mississippi Valley and Far West. It was the Algonkian Indians whom the

English-speaking explorers, landing on the Atlantic Coast in Carolina and northward, first encountered, and who received them almost uniformly in peace. Massasoit, the lifelong friend of the Plymouth Pilgrims; his son Philip, famous for his brave but

Rock Carving of the Turtle Clan of the Iroquois Indians

The rock is in the bed of the Ohio river at Smith's Ferry. Photographed especially for this work from a cast in Carnegie Museum, Pittsburgh

ineffectual resistance to white encroachment; Powhatan, forever conspicuous in the Virginia chronicle; and Pontiac and Tecumseh, who in the western country later struggled and failed like Philip to stem the white tide, were all Algonkian chiefs.

It is conceded that in this Algonkian family the Lenâpé of the Delaware region were representatives of a parent stock. In the traditions common to all the tribes special dignity and authority

were assigned them. Forty tribes, it is said, looked up to them with respect, and in the Algonkian great councils—if such were ever held—they took first place as the "Grandfathers" of the race, while the others were called by them "children," "nephews," "grandchildren." That this precedence of the Lenâpé had any importance within the period of the white settlement can hardly be said. It seems true that the Algonkian tribes refrained from war with one another, and some writers speak of a "Lenâpé Confederacy."

The Lenâpé of the Delaware region formed three sub-tribes. These were the *Min-si,* people of the stony lands, who lived in the mountain country, from about the Lehigh river northward into New York and New Jersey; the *U-na-mi,* down-river people, whose habitat may be regarded as extending from the Lehigh to about the Delaware State line; and lastly the *U-na-lach-tigo,* tide-water people, or people living near the sea, who occupied the land on the lower reach of the river, and on the bay. How far each of these roamed and claimed it is hard to say; the Minsi spread into New Jersey; the Unami had an uncertain hold beyond the Schuylkill, toward the watershed of streams flowing to the Susquehanna; and the Unalachtigo probably occupied most of the east shore of the Delaware river, within the present State of Delaware.

After the manner general if not uniform among the North American Indians, each of these sub-tribes of the Lenâpé had its animal type, its *totem.* That of the mountaineers was appropriately the Wolf, the central sub-tribe had the Turtle, and the Bay dwellers the Turkey. With the creatures which they thus adopted as their symbols they imagined themselves in some way connected by a mystic but powerful tie, and each member of the totemic fraternity was closely bound to every other one. But to the Turtle, and consequently his sub-tribe, they ascribed the greatest dignity, for they shared with peoples of the Old World the myth that a great tortoise, first of all created beings, bore the

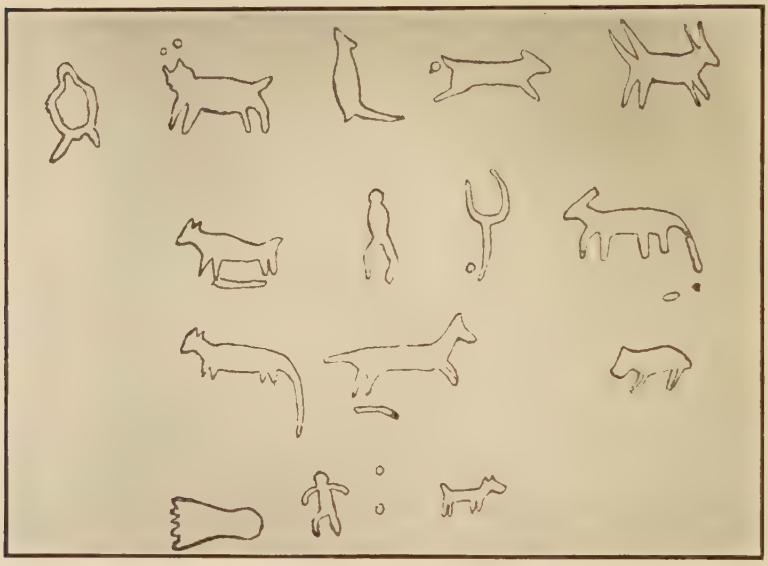
earth upon its back. Thus, by their totem, the Unami had precedence, and in time of peace their sachem, or chief, wearing a diamond-marked wampum belt, was chief of the whole tribe. That the Minsi were the most vigorous and warlike of the Lenâpé is indicated by many evidences, and they were probably the strongest in numbers. From their holds in the mountains they reached northeastward to the banks of the Hudson and on that river joined hands with the Mohegans, another tribe of the Algonkian family; while they guarded, also, against the hostile approach of the tribes of Central New York, called by the English the Five Nations, and by the French the Iroquois. These tribes, five in number until 1712, we shall have to refer to many times and we pause here to speak more particularly of them. They were, at the time the white men came, the Caniengas, usually called Mohawks (or Maquas), Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas. They belonged to a family distinct in language from the Algonkian tribes. By the genius of one of their own chiefs, an Onondaga, known in half-certain, half-dubious, traditions as Hiawatha, they had been united as a confederacy, at some time anterior to the period we now describe. They were a vigorous, energetic and aggressive people, but not more so than many of the Algonkian tribes. The accident of contact with the earliest white comers, the French and the Dutch, and consequently the earliest possession of firearms, started them on a career which influenced for two hundred years the course of history, not only as to Pennsylvania and New York, but as to the American Union itself. About 1712 they received from North Carolina the remnant of the Tuscarora tribe, which was of their lingual family, and became thereafter the Six Nations. In these pages we shall speak of them for the present as the Iroquois.

The political system of the Lenâpé, while it implied an obedience of the members of the tribe to its chief, was not far removed from a democracy. Chief and tribe were alike subject to long established custom, and while the chieftainship was considered

hereditary in certain families, the individual assigned to it was subject to election by the tribe. That such a system should have been so well established, and should have served so fully to secure peace and order within a large tribe, is one of the marvels of the Indian. Throughout the country the wars of tribes with one another were common, perhaps almost incessant, but internal feuds and bloodshed were rare. The Indian's attachment to his own tribe was unqualified; such enemies as he had must be of some other tribe. "There were times," says Parkman, describing Indians of Canada, "when savages lived together in thousands with a harmony which civilization might envy." Penn, writing in 1683, his letter to the Free Society of Traders, said: "Every king hath his council; and that consists of all the old and wise men. . . Nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, selling of land, or traffic, without advising with them, and which is more with the young men, too. It is admirable to consider how powerful the kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people."

The Lenâpé could not have been a large tribe. Within the limits of Pennsylvania they numbered perhaps two thousand people. It cannot now be said with confidence that they had any central and fixed "town." They had places to which they resorted, such as rivers or creeks in which they fished; mountains where they hunted; or cleared spaces where they planted; but they had no buildings more substantial than the simple hut, or lodge, commonly known to the whites as the *wigwam,* in which they sheltered themselves. Its frame was formed of sapling trees, and was covered by the bark of larger ones. Each hut was for a single family, differing in this respect from the houses of the Iroquois, which were communal, each one accommodating several families. Sometimes the Lenâpé huts might be placed in groups, forming a village, and surrounded by a palisade of driven stakes, for defense against enemies, but all such frail structures decayed and disappeared almost as soon as their occupants quitted them.

The men were hunters and fishermen in times of peace, warriors when peace failed. Wild animals abounded in the far-stretching woods, and in the streams there were swarms of fish. The reports of the white explorers, as they sailed up the Delaware, through the country of the Lenâpé, glow with descriptions of the



Algonkian Rock Pictures, Safe Harbor

Reproduced especially for this work from United States government reports

abundant wild life to be seen on every hand. When the white men came the "fur trade" was their first object, and the Indians brought them skins of many sorts—bear, deer, sable, beaver, otter, fox, wild-cat, lynx, raccoon, mink, musk-rat, and others. These animals had been caught in traps, or shot with bow and arrow, or perhaps run down by dogs, or killed with a spear or a club. Fish were speared in shallow places, or driven into pounds formed of brush, or caught with a simple hook and line.

Under the Indian system there was, of course, no private ownership of land. Its use, like its possession, was in common. A family had a right of temporary occupancy, but nothing more. Near their villages, in the alluvial bottom lands, or in spaces in the woods cleared by fire, the women raised the family crops, planting the maize, our "Indian corn," when "the oak leaf was the size of a squirrel's ear," and raising also beans, pumpkins, and a few other vegetables, including probably the sweet potato. In 1679, Dankers and Sluyter, the "Labadists," traveling through New Jersey, and fed by the Indians (probably Lenâpé), were regaled upon boiled beans, served in a calabash, "cooked without salt or grease," and "pounded maize, kneaded into bread, and baked under the ashes." Zeisberger describes the women as going into the woods in February to boil the maple sap, and make sugar, and this process is declared by some writers to be an Indian discovery. The Indians quickly adopted the raising of fruit from the white settlers' example, and their "orchards" are often spoken of.

We are to remember, when we consider their limited agriculture and their habitual residence along the streams, that Pennsylvania, from the Delaware to Lake Erie, was then an unbroken forest. Less than one-tenth of its surface, it may be said, was treeless land. To the explorer who passed along its eastern side the trees stood often at the water's edge, and when he landed he found them rising everywhere before him. Then and for a century after, among the whites, to go inland was "going into the woods," and as late as the Revolution an emigrant moving westward, if only a hundred miles, was commonly spoken of as "gone to the backwoods."

The Indians had no cutting implements of metal. They were not workers of metal. A few copper articles they seem to have had, but these were mostly ornaments, and the material of which they were wrought may have been "native" or pure copper, procured from surface deposit or shallow mine, or possibly brought

from the shores of Lake Superior. To reduce ores, to extract the metal, and work it by fire and hammer, were processes beyond their knowledge.

That the women should be assigned the labors in the field, as well as those within the lodge, was not strange. It was the ordinary usage of Indian life, and common indeed among such peoples the world over. The exertions of the men were often far more arduous. For the chase, and still more for the war, they needed not only strength, but agility. Labor which would impair their swiftness of movement would be fatal. The boys were trained from their earliest years to run, to jump, to fish, and to shoot; to endure hardships, to suffer hunger and thirst in silence.

Living thus in closest contact with Nature, and drawing subsistence from her, sometimes with greatest ease, sometimes with infinite difficulty, the Indian's faculties of observation were developed to a wonderful keenness. Signs of life and movement in forest or field, which a "civilized" man would not note, appeared to him plain. The habits of all wild creatures, the phenomena of the weather, the birth, growth, and decay of vegetation, the aspects of nature in the atmosphere and the sky, were familiar to him in the minutest detail, and thus for the purposes of the life he led he had a real education. Observing that the seasons recurred regularly, that seed-time and harvest, the budding and the fall of the leaf, came with uniform intervals, he made his own year, and divided it by its thirteen moons. Thus he could count his own age, and assign to events of the past their due order.

But among the Lenâpé the chronicle of events was practically an engraving on the tablets of the mind, and that only. If we except the "notched sticks" of record, which some of the Algonkian tribes employed, and which may have been used by the Lenâpé, it may be sweepingly said that they made no records, erected no monuments, carved no stones. The traditions they cherished, the laws they enacted, the usages they set up, all were oral, and were handed down by word of mouth.

It has already been said that these Indians had practically no metal implements or arms. Stone was their main material. It provided the axe, the hammer, the pestle—sometimes also the mortar—for pounding their corn into meal; the knife, the "skinner" for stripping off the skins of a slain animal, a hoe and a spade for the field, and a score of other articles in common use. It furnished the pipe in which they smoked their tobacco, quoits for their games, and even ornaments for their persons. For their weapons it supplied arrow-heads and spear-heads, and the "tomahawk" or battle-axe. It is these stone objects, surviving the tooth of time, which have remained as the most notable evidences of the Indian period in Pennsylvania.

The Lenâpé had, however, some other arts of manufacture. They were skilled in dressing the skins of animals, especially the deer. They made earthenware articles, baking them hard and black. Soapstone they hollowed out for pots and pans, while other household vessels were made of wood. The large wild gourd, the calabash, one of the few contributions to the use of the white people, served them as bucket and dipper. The women wove mats from the soft and tough inner bark of trees, and made ornamental garments from the plumage of birds. Strings of beads, "wampum," which were used to decorate "belts" of ceremony, and in a limited way served as money, were usually made of bits of shells, from the shore of the sea. For dye-stuffs they had the wild berries, the bark of trees, and plants like the sumac, while colored clays furnished them a coarse but effective paint.

One fact not yet considered influenced the life of the Indians of Pennsylvania to a degree which we can understand only with an effort. They had, with the sole exception of the dog, a half-wild creature, no domestic animal. The horse they had never seen—nor the cow. They had not the llama of South America, the camel, the elephant, or any other of the beasts of burden so useful in the Old World. They had therefore no means of movement or transportation but those which their own bodily vigor

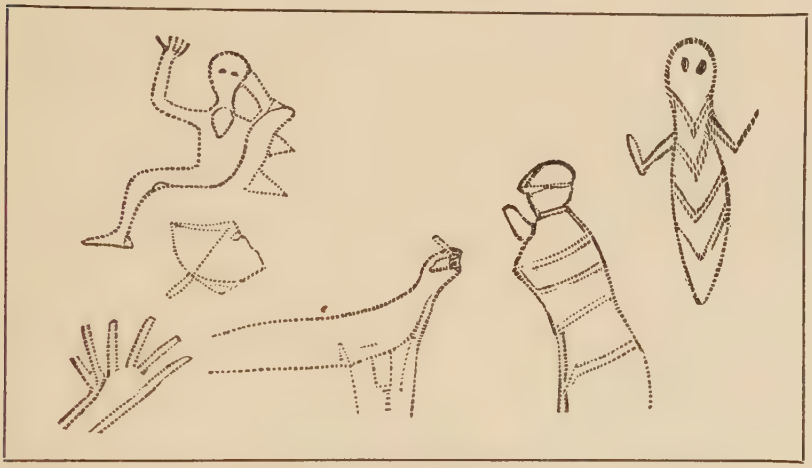
supplied. On land they walked or ran, on the water they paddled their canoes. By their marches on the chase or in war they had worn paths, or "trails," which may yet be traced, here and there, over hill and mountain; but it is most probable that, living near many streams of water, they made large use of these as highways of travel. Their canoes may sometimes have been made of bark, but this seems uncertain; as a rule, the Lenâpé's canoe must have been a hollow log. By diligent labor with fire and his stone axe he felled a tree, and by the same means cut off a proper length, hollowed it out and shaped it. This was the "dug-out," the "pirogue," in which the earliest white explorers of the Delaware found the Indians who lived on its banks coming to meet their ships.

The Lenâpé were straight, of middle height, their color a reddish brown. Penn speaks of them as "generally tall, straight, well built, and of singular proportion; they tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty chin." Their complexion he called "black," but said it was artificially produced by the free use of bear-grease, and exposure to sun and weather.[1] They married young, the men, he says, usually at seventeen, the women at thirteen or fourteen. But their families were seldom large, and the increase of the tribe must have been slow. Polygamy existed but was not common. Marriage might or might not be a permanent relation; it was terminable by the husband at will, and the wife, also, Heckewelder says, might leave the husband. It is probable, however, that such separations were the exception rather than the rule. In one respect marriages were strictly controlled by the tribal law: it was required that a man of one sub-tribe must marry a woman of one of the others. A man of the Turkey sub-tribe, for example, chose a wife from the Turtle or the Wolf. So, too, the descent of sub-tribal membership, of property, and of honors, was through the female line. The child's *totem* was that

[1]This is also the statement of Pastorius, the Germantown settler (1685): "The children were white enough, but their parents rubbed them with fat, and exposed them to the hot sun, to make them brown." (Pennypacker's "Germantown," 235.)

of its mother. A chief could not be succeeded, therefore, by his son, though he might be by his brother, or by the son of a sister, or son of some other female of his own blood and sub-tribe.

It has been said, earlier in this review, that the Indians had a glimmering perception of religious truth. They believed in the existence of Manitou, a Great Spirit, "the creator and preserver of heaven and earth." They conceived of a future existence.



Figures on "Indian God" Rock

There was a general belief in a soul, a spiritual and unmaterial part of man. They did not worship idols, though they gave superstitious reverence to light, especially as manifested in fire and the sun, and to the four winds, as typical of the cardinal points, and as rain-bringers. They conceived that the supreme Manitou had many inferior manitous, to whom he had committed rule and control over special conditions and circumstances, and they therefore desired to conciliate these, by sacrifices, dances, fasts, etc. They did not fear a Devil, Heckewelder says, being confident of safety so long as they believed they had the approval of the Great Spirit, and he declares indeed, as do no other author-

ities, that the idea of an evil spirit, or devil, was unknown to them until they received it from the whites. Their dances, songs, and sacrifices were significant as prayer, as propitiation, and as thanksgiving. No great undertaking was begun without such ceremony, and it was equally obligatory if the enterprise had successfully ended. The song and dance were, in fact, characteristic Indian performances. Nor was the festival less so. "In the fall when the corn cometh in," Penn says, "they begin to feast one another. There have been two great festivals already"—his letter is dated August 16—"to which all come that will."

Of the moral qualities of the Indians it is difficult to form a fair judgment for want of an accepted standard. If we judge them by the highest white ideals of a later day, to which few white men—if any—ever attain, they would be found very deficient. If we compare them to other primitive peoples, in the stage of social development which they had reached, they bear the comparison well. But the whole question of their morals, and their merits, then and since, has been confused by vehement differences of opinion concerning them. To some they were not merely "savages," but worse—"heathen" and "vermin," whom it was not only no crime but rather a duty to exterminate. In such a view they could not justify their right of existence, and for the white men to end it, by whatever means, was a praiseworthy act. On the other hand, they have had warm defenders and even enthusiastic eulogists. William Penn saw them with a favorable eye. The pioneer settlers of Pennsylvania, practically without exception, were their friends. The missionaries who labored amongst them, the Moravians especially, became warmly attached to them. So much depends, in fact, upon the point of view concerning the Indians that in a relation of the story of Pennsylvania's life during the colonial period we must be on our guard at every point lest partisanship for or against them influence the account.

Some facts concerning the Lenâpé are not open to dispute. Like Indians generally, they had remarkable self-control and forti-

tude. They had great endurance; they spared themselves no physical effort when an object important to them was in view. They were not treacherous, in the proper sense of the word; on the contrary they were remarkably loyal in friendships, and faithful to their agreements.[1] They received the white men in Pennsylvania kindly and with little appearance of suspicion. In numerous cases they furnished food which saved the settlers from destitution. "In liberality they excel," wrote Penn, and this was a marked characteristic. It was accompanied by and indeed may be said to have partly caused extreme improvidence. Not enough store of food was laid up for winter; not enough effort was made to provide for to-morrow; in consequence the Indians were often at starvation's door.

In estimating their moral condition one fact stands out. Though they often ate gluttonously when food was plenty they had no intoxicating drink. It seems plain that they knew not how to make any. No process, not even the simplest, of either fermentation or distillation was employed by them. The narcotic tobacco, which they smoked in pipes of clay, or stone, possibly also of copper, was their nearest approach to stimulant or intoxicant. It was reserved for the white men to bring them the curse of drink. Heckewelder records the Indian tradition of the first appearance of the white men at the mouth of the Hudson, when almost at once they offered the Mohegans drams of rum, and the intoxication that followed gave its enduring name, Manhattan—*the island where we all got drunk*—to the place. The Dutch, from the first, on both the Delaware and the Hudson, supplied the Indians with drink, and the Swedes and English, who followed,

[1]Francis Daniel Pastorius, of Germantown, already cited (foot-note, ante), says, writing in 1695, of the Indians whom he had seen: "They are entirely candid, keep to their promises, and deceive and mislead nobody." He tells, however, this story: "A very cunning savage came to me one day, and offered to bring me a turkey hen for a certain price. But he brought me instead an eagle, and insisted upon it that it was a turkey. But I showed him that I knew very well the difference between the two birds. Then he said to a Swede standing by that he had not supposed that a German so lately arrived would know these birds apart." (Pennypacker's Germantown," p. 238.)

did the same. Kalm, the Swedish writer, said of the Lenâpé of New Jersey that while the small-pox had destroyed many, "brandy had killed most" of them. Penn, in 1683, described graphically the injury already done. The Indians had become, he says, "great lovers of strong liquors, rum especially," and for it they gave the richest of their skins and furs. "One of the most wretched spectacles in the world" they were when drunk. This remained a sadly familiar description. To the end of their history in Pennsylvania it was the same; the tempting and terrible "fire-water" wrought upon them every misery which humankind can suffer, and stripping them of self-command, vigor, and judgment, lost them at last the land they had called their own.

We may now consider that these details have fairly described the Indians of the Delaware region, at the opening of the historic period. It may be at once added that much of the description would apply to other Indians of Pennsylvania. But while our knowledge of the Lenâpé, at the time the white men came, is limited, and must be pieced out by observations made in later times, as of William Penn seventy-five years after, and of the missionary Heckewelder in the following century, our knowledge of other Indian tribes within the limits of the present State, in the beginning of the Seventeenth Century, is still more meagre. We have little more than a few names, some of them spelled many ways and unpronounceable, a few traditions, and a variety of disputed conclusions. We must therefore content ourselves with a brief survey, qualified by many uncertainties.

One general statement may be safely made concerning the Indians of the interior, in the valley of the Susquehanna and its three great branches, from Chesapeake Bay to the river's remotest springs; it is that none of them was of Algonkian stock, and that all were sometimes at war with, and ultimately were conquered by, the Iroquois of New York. The heads of the Susquehanna river stretch far up into the Iroquois country, and securing firearms promptly from the whites, those fierce and energetic confederates

descended upon the convenient water ways, and were more than a match for any antagonist they found on the lower reaches of the stream. The whole interior of Pennsylvania, therefore, became by the close of the Seventeenth Century an appanage of the Iroquois.

On the Susquehanna, south of the Juniata and north of the Chesapeake, at the time the white men came, were the tribe called by the English of Virginia and Maryland Susquehannocks, and by the French Andastes. Their palisaded town, often mentioned afterward in colonial history, was apparently within the present limits of Lancaster county. They became familiar to the Swedes and the Dutch as the Minquas, this designation implying not alone bands upon the Susquehanna river itself, but others of the same tribe who occupied streams that flow into that river, and head eastward toward the Delaware. The Minquas were almost habitual enemies of the "river Indians," the Lenâpé. Their parties coming down the Christiana gave it early the name of Minquas Kill. The Lenâpé dolefully related to the white settlers the miseries they had endured at the hands of these "black Indians" of the interior.

Finally, the Susquehannocks, or Andastes, fell as has been intimated before the arms of the fierce confederates of New York, the Iroquois. From about 1650, for some time, the Mohawks were at war with them; later the Senecas carried on this warfare, and about 1674 finally overcame and scattered them. The Susquehannocks from that time disappear, unless, as is probable, the small band of Conestogas, whose dismal fortunes a century later we shall have to relate, were a remnant of this important tribe. Other tribes or bands were identified then and later with the lower Susquehanna; Captain Smith heard of two, whose names he gives on his map, but which have now no significance for us; and in colonial times there were the Conoys, otherwise Ganawese, who have been identified with the Piscataways of southern Maryland, and apparently were recent immigrants from that region.

In western Pennsylvania, the valley of the Ohio was undoubtedly a favorite Indian land. Abundant evidences of this existed within the historic period. That picturesque region, with its wooded mountains, its swift streams, and narrow but fertile valleys, has, or had, many Indian remains—not only the ordinary stone implements and weapons, and fragments of pottery, but pictured rocks, defensive works, and burial mounds. Who the Indians were that left these behind is wholly unknown. Those tribes whom the whites found in western Pennsylvania, when the settlements were made there, a full century after the white occupancy of the Delaware began, were themselves new-comers, fragments of tribes driven thither, as the Lenâpé remnants then had been, from their original homes in regions to the eastward. We shall see, for example, that our earliest precise knowledge of Indian activities on the Allegheny, and at the site of Pittsburg, goes back no further than about 1720-25, leaving more than a century for important changes of habitat after the white men came.

Within the historic period there was a tribe upon the shores of Lake Erie, their habitat extending, it is probable, within the northwestern corner of Pennsylvania. These were the people commonly known as Eries, or Erigas, or as the French called them, the Cat tribe. It is said that they were of the Iroquois family; it is also said that they were not—that they were Algonkians. It has been suggested that they were identical with the Shawanoes, or Shawnees, whose appearance and disappearance in widely-separated places is one of the puzzles in the history of the American Indian. They are described as a large tribe; one authority assigns them twenty-eight villages, with "twelve large towns or forts," and no less than 12,000 members; but these figures certainly are exaggerated. They were, French accounts say, fierce warriors, who used poisoned arrows, and were long a terror to the neighboring Iroquois. The Jesuits, who generally endeavored to convert the tribes on the Lakes, had no mission among them, though they

appear to have been visited by Etienne Brulé, Champlain's adventurous interpreter, in the summer of 1615. The Eries also were finally victims of the Iroquois. In the year 1654, earlier than the subjugation of the Susquehannocks, the Iroquois attacked them furiously, and defeated and scattered them, and the historic account concerning them thus ends.

One enduring impress left upon Pennsylvania by the Indians and perhaps the most conspicuous one, is the names of places, and especially of flowing waters. Very generally the names which were given and which remain upon the rivers and creeks are Indian. The Delaware and Schuylkill are conspicuous exceptions, but the Lehigh, the Susquehanna, the Juniata, the Ohio, the Allegheny, the Monongahela, the Youghiogheny, the Kiskeminetas, the Conemaugh, are examples sufficient to prove the rule. Throughout the State scores and probably hundreds of the streams have Indian names, some of them strikingly beautiful, some by corruption of the original changed to forms less pleasing and hardly to be identified as Indian.

Though we shall be anticipating somewhat the course of our narrative, and taking up events out of their order, it seems most convenient to consider here the relation borne for a time, after the white men came, by the Iroquois Indians of New York to the Lenâpé Indians on the Delaware. It is unquestionable that during a period more or less extended the former claimed, and the latter, or some of them, conceded, a certain supremacy of the Iroquois. But the exact nature of this supremacy, the time when it began, the manner in which it was established, and the extent of its exercise, have all been matters of dispute.

We shall be able to relieve the subject of part of its liability to confusion by considering first some facts which are not disputed. In the first place, there is no evidence that the purchases of the land on the Delaware made by the Dutch, or the Swedes, or by William Penn, had any reference to the Iroquois tribes of New York. These dealings were with local Indian chiefs, and with

them only. The deeds make no allusion to any overlordship. From the Capes northward nearly to the Lehigh river, on the

Indian Rock Pictures, Millsboro

Reproduced especially for this work from United States government reports

west side, and upward into New York on the east side, the lands were sold by the Lenâpé as an independent and sovereign people.

In the valley of the Susquehanna, as we have seen, the Lenâpé held no land. It was held by their enemies, the Susquehannocks on the lower reaches of the river, and the Iroquois on the upper,

until the latter, by conquest, acquired entire control. The Lenâpé had possession, it would appear, of lands on the western affluents of the Schuylkill, but they had no hold upon the region beyond the watershed where they rise.

By eliminating thus a large part of the Delaware valley and the whole of the Susquehanna valley from consideration, we have narrowed the field in which the Iroquois could have exercised a supremacy of any great importance over the Lenâpé. We have left simply the mountain country of the Minsi, from the Lehigh river northward, on the west side of the Delaware. It may be said in a word that the Minsi, while they remained in this region, were probably subject, for some fifty years or more, to the Iroquois.

So early as 1609, when Champlain, in July of that year, made his famous attack upon them, on the site of Ticonderoga, the Mohawks of New York learned the deadly effectiveness of fire-arms. His match-locks with triggers—the "arquebuses" of the French armorers of that time—spread death and dismay in the ranks of the Indians. It was a lesson to them, terrible and effective, and needing no repetition. From that day they endeavored to procure for themselves the weapons whose destructive power they had witnessed, and in the Dutch records there is abundant evidence that the demand thus created was soon supplied.

The encounter at Ticonderoga coincided almost precisely with Hudson's discovery of the great river that bears his name. The two events were but a month apart. Trade on the Hudson river began quickly, and filled with desire for Indian furs, the Dutch traders lost no time in supplying the guns and powder which would secure them. By 1630, when traffic on the Delaware was hardly yet begun, there was centered at Albany, extending into the country of the Iroquois, a barter of furs and firearms, whose profits brought joy to the white trader, and which equipped the red man for a more effective warfare than he ever yet had waged. In November, 1643, the Dutch settlers at Manhattan, in their

pitiful appeal for aid to the authorities in Holland, said the Indians were "well provided with guns, powder, and lead, which they purchased for beaver from the private traders who have had *for a long time* free range here." The "Brief Description of New Netherland," written 1641-1646, for use in Holland, says the settlers of Rensselaerwyck (on the Hudson below Albany), at an early time, "perceiving that the Mohawks were craving for guns, which some of them had already received from the English," made large profits by selling more of them, and also that the gain of the trade being noised about, traders coming over from Holland "brought over great quantities," and the Mohawks, "in a short time," were seen well provided "with firelocks, powder and lead."

It was not only the whites who suffered, in conflicts with the Indians thus armed, it was as well the traditional enemies of the Iroquois, in all directions, including the Mohegans and the mountain bands of the Lenâpé. These latter demanded arms also, but the traders at Manhattan were more strictly controlled than those in the Mohawk country, and could not supply them. The Dutch law forbade the sale of arms to the Indians, "on pain of death," and with the scandals of the up-river trade discussed hotly at Manhattan, it was scarcely possible for the Mohegans and the Minsi to obtain there the new and more deadly weapons.

The outcome of the struggle between the Iroquois and Lenâpé was thus plainly to be foretold. The same fierce attacks which the Iroquois had made upon the Eries and the Susquehannocks they made, as occasion offered, upon the Algonkian tribes. Yet the subjugation of the Minsi must have proceeded slowly. It is evident that man for man they and the Mohegans were not inferior to the tribes of the Iroquois. As late as 1660, at Esopus, far up the Hudson toward the disputed valley through which the Rondout flows, and which separates the Iroquois and Mohegan strongholds, chiefs of the Algonkian tribes defied a Mohawk emissary, and claimed the land on which they were standing. "This is not

your land!" they declared, "it is our land!" The Minsi and the Senecas were at war in that year, 1660, and the latter earnestly appealed to Governor Stuyvesant for a supply of powder and ball, as if they were hard pressed. Three years later, 1663, the two tribes were still fighting, the Minsi apparently with fair success.

These facts narrow the time in which Iroquois supremacy over the Minsi could have been exercised. We are brought down, seeking the period in which it might have begun, toward the date of William Penn's first arrival. It seems most probable that it was about 1680 when the Minsi began to feel themselves not a match for their assailants. In 1727, at an Indian treaty in Philadelphia, some of the Iroquois chiefs alleged that William Penn, "when he first arrived," (1682), sent to them "to desire them to sell land to him," and said also that later he spoke to them in terms acknowledging their control of the Lenâpé. These assertions, viewed in the light of what we know otherwise, may have a basis of truth. It is certain that Penn recognized promptly the control of the Susquehanna region by the New York tribes, and it may also be that he perceived besides that they had gained a hold upon the mountain region of the Minsi. In May, 1712, Governor Gookin met Sassoonan, and other Lenâpé chiefs, in council at Whitemarsh (near Philadelphia), and the latter explained that they had been "many years ago made tributaries to the Mingoes or Five Nations," and were now about to send them tribute belts and a calumet. That the Minsi, or some of them, would still have resisted, later than 1680, with white help, appears from the Pennsylvania records. In 1693, Colonel Fletcher, acting as "royal" governor of Pennsylvania during Penn's temporary eclipse, received in council at Philadelphia, "some Indians from the upper part of the river,"—Lenâpé certainly, and Minsi most likely. These urged upon him that he assist them in a war with the Seneca tribe. "Although we are a small number of Indians," they said, "yet we are men, and know fighting." They were, no doubt, the remnant of an "old guard" of their tribe, who recalled

the time before the Iroquois triumph, and who would fain have renewed the struggle, with Fletcher's help—which of course he refused to give.

If we conclude, then, that the Iroquois arms prevailed over those of the Minsi about 1680, or between that and 1700, we shall find, in reference to land treaties, indications of a deferential regard for the Iroquois manifested by the Pennsylvania colonial officials from about 1725; we shall see the arrogant claims of the Iroquois to an absolute overlordship of the Minsi country by 1742; and in 1756 we shall again find the Lenâpé—called then uniformly Delawares—claiming and compelling acknowledgment of their tribal independence. Thus it appears that the supremacy of the New York confederates may have lasted from 1680 to 1756, and that it was confined, as to lands, to the Minsi region. It is thus evident that it has been absurdly overestimated by many historical writers. In the face of abundant evidence that the Lenâpé were a vigorous people, capable of strong resentments and energetic action, it has been assumed that they were feeble and nerveless, a people unlike other Indians. "A long and intimate knowledge of the Delaware tribe," said William Henry Harrison, afterward President, "in peace and in war, as enemies and friends, has left upon my mind the most favorable impressions of their character for bravery, generosity, and fidelity to their engagements." This was testimony rendered them when, after many years of hard fortune, their tribe was shattered and disorganized; it compels us to believe that in an earlier time, armed with similar weapons and meeting upon an equal field, they must have been able to contend successfully with their Indian enemies.

We are to speak now of the explanation which the Lenâpé gave of the subjection to which they, or some of them, were reduced. They felt, no doubt, that it was degrading, and, as has been said, when the day of opportunity came they repudiated it. In the period, however, when it was not to be denied, they explained ingeniously, and perhaps with some grains of truth, how

it had come about. By the persuasions of the Iroquois, they said, they had consented to serve as a tribe of peace, renouncing the practice of war. The Iroquois had come to them with honeyed persuasion, and had urged upon them that the dignity of ancestorship which they held among the tribes of the Algonkian family gave them great influence, and that it would be rendering a valuable and honorable service to the whole Indian race to allay the

Spanish Hill, Bradford County

This hill is in the shape of a sugar loaf; the top level and eleven acres in extent. Undoubtedly it was one of the palisaded Indian towns of the Andastes; it is generally supposed to be Carantouan, mentioned by Etienne Brulé, Champlain's scout, who visited it in 1615, and this is confirmed by Champlain's map, as well as by many implements of Indian manufacture found on it. The first white settlers in the locality reported that the Indians called this hill "Hispan," but there is only faint tradition to justify the name. Rochefoucauld, a French traveler, in 1795, says the whites called the hill "Spanish Ramparts," from the remains of entrenchments; he adds, "one perpendicular breastwork yet remains, which plainly indicates that a parapet and ditch have been constructed here." Photograph by Irving K. Park

animosities and terminate the wars which consumed their strength and actually threatened their destruction. To these persuasions, the Lenâpé said, they finally yielded, and consented to assume the position of a "woman nation," exercising an influence for peace in the midst of the others. At a great feast the Iroquois messengers appeared with belts of wampum to seal the engagement, and a solemn treaty to this effect was made, which subsequently the Iroquois perfidiously employed to subjugate and oppress the Lenâpé.

The kernel of truth which there may be in this story relates to the likelihood that diplomatic persuasion may have been used upon the Minsi, as well as the harsher argument of force—that the subjugation may have been accomplished by both means, employed at different times. Zeisberger, the Moravian, tells us that he himself saw the belts given by the Iroquois at the time the treaty was made. Heckewelder insists upon the verity of the account. Much learned dispute has been bestowed upon the subject. But, as we have seen, it is not of great importance as a feature of the case. The Iroquois supremacy over the Minsi, whether acquired by force, as is probable, from the earlier possession of firearms, or by craft, as is possible, or by both, as is equally possible, was a condition existing for a comparatively brief time, and in no way proving the physical or moral feebleness of the Lenâpé.

What has been said may serve to give a fair idea of those occupants of the soil of Pennsylvania whom the white men dispossessed. The history of their expulsion will throw further light upon them. We shall see them exhibit qualities commanding our respect and sympathy, coupled with other qualities which shock and repel us. In the struggle for life and home they displayed faults and virtues, weakness and strength, folly and sense. We may consider, then, that as the Seventeenth Century opened, in the years when the reign of Elizabeth was closing in England, and Shakespeare was building the structure of his fame, the red people of Pennsylvania were pursuing the simple round of their primitive life. No ships had reached their waters. No whisper had come to them of the enormous change that impended over them. Paddling their canoes upon the streams, spearing fish in the shallows, hunting bear and deer in the mountains, planting and gathering their crops in their little fields, dancing and singing at their festivals, or kindling their council-fires at the places long familiar to them, no thought had entered their child-like

minds that the end of all this was at hand—that a great company of their fellow-men, living far away, had built prodigious canoes to cross the boundless waters, and were about to descend upon them, nominally in friendship, but really with plans and purposes which must ultimately mean to them destruction and death.

TRADITION OF THE LENAPE MIGRATION.

[From Rev. John Heckewelder's "History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States." Originally published by him in 1818, under the auspices of the American Philosophical Society; republished, 1876, by the Pennsylvania Historical Society.]

The Lenni Lenâpé (according to the traditions handed down to them by their ancestors) resided many hundred years ago in a very distant country in the western part of the American continent. For some reason, which I do not find accounted for, they determined on migrating to the eastward, and accordingly set out together in a body. After a very long journey, and many nights' encampments[1] by the way, they at length arrived on the *Namae si Sipu*,[2] where they fell in with the Mengwe, who had likewise emigrated from a distant country, and had struck upon this river somewhat higher up. Their object was the same with that of the Delawares; they were proceeding on to the eastward, until they should find a country that pleased them. The spies which the Lenâpé had sent forward for the purpose of reconnoitering, had long before their arrival discovered that the country east of the Mississippi was inhabited by a very powerful nation, who had many large towns built on the great rivers flowing through their land. These people (as I was told) called themselves *Talligue* or *Talligewi*. Colonel John Gibson, however, a gentleman who has a thorough knowledge of the Indians and speaks several of their languages, is of the opinion that they were not called *Talligewi*, but *Alligewi*, and it would seem that he is right, from the traces of their name which still remain in the country, the Allegheny river and mountains having indubitably been named after them. The Delawares still call the former *Alligewi Sipu*, the River of the Alligewi. . . .

Many wonderful things are told of this famous people. They are said to have been remarkably tall and stout, and there is a tradition that there were giants among them, people of a much larger size than the tallest of the Lenâpé. It is related that they had built to themselves regular fortifications or entrenchments, from whence they would sally out, but were generally repulsed. I have seen many of the fortifications said to have been built by them. . . .

When the Lenâpé arrived on the banks of the Mississippi, they sent a message to the Alligewi to request permission to settle themselves in their neighborhood. This was refused them, but they obtained leave to pass through the country and seek a settlement farther to the eastward. They

[1]A night's encampment signifies a half of a year.

[2]The Mississippi—river of fish.

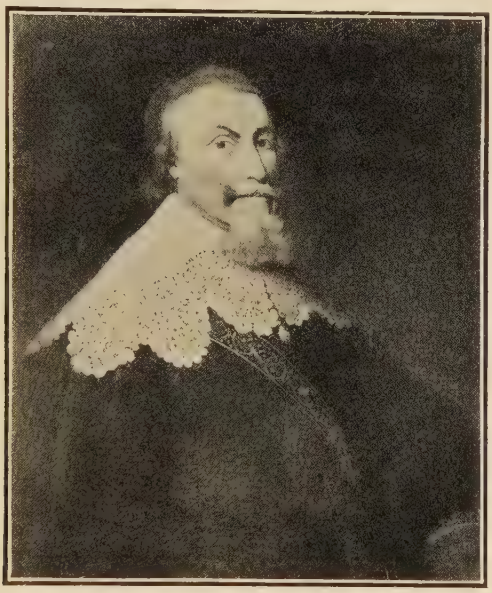
accordingly began to cross the Namæsi Sipu, when the Alligewi, seeing that their numbers were so very great, and in fact they consisted of many thousands, made a furious attack on those who had crossed, threatening them all with destruction, if they dared to persist in coming over to their side of the river. Fired at the treachery of these people, and the great loss of men they had sustained, and besides, not being prepared for a conflict, the Lenâpé consulted on what was to be done; whether to retreat in the best manner they could, or try their strength, and let the enemy see that they were not cowards, but men, and too high-minded to suffer themselves to be driven off before they had made a trial of their strength, and were convinced that the enemy was too powerful for them. The Mengwe, who had hitherto been satisfied with being spectators from a distance, offered to join them, on condition that, after conquering the country, they should be entitled to share it with them; their proposal was accepted, and the resolution was taken by the two nations, to conquer or die.

Having thus united their forces, the Lenâpé and Mengwe declared war against the Alligewi, and great battles were fought, in which many warriors fell on both sides. The enemy fortified their large towns and erected fortifications, especially on large rivers, and near lakes, where they were successively attacked and sometimes stormed by the allies. An engagement took place in which hundreds fell, who were afterwards buried in holes or laid together in heaps and covered over with earth. No quarter was given, so that the Alligewi, at last, finding that their destruction was inevitable if they persisted in their obstinacy, abandoned the country to the conquerors, and fled down the Mississippi river, from whence they never returned. The war which was carried on with this nation lasted many years, during which the Lenâpé lost a great number of their warriors, while the Mengwe would always hang back in the rear, leaving them to face the enemy. In the end, the conquerors divided the country between themselves; the Mengwe made choice of the lands in the vicinity of the great lakes, and on their tributary streams, and the Lenâpé took possession of the country to the south. For a long period of time, some say many hundred years, the two nations resided peaceably in this country, and increased very fast; some of their most enterprising huntsmen and warriors crossed the great swamps,[1] and falling on streams running to the eastward, followed them down to the great Bay River, thence into the Bay itself, which we call Chesapeak. As they pursued their travels, partly by land and partly by water, sometimes near and at other times on the great Saltwater Lake, as they call the Sea, they discovered the great River, which we call the Delaware; and thence exploring still eastward, the *Scheyichbi* country, now named New Jersey, they arrived at another great stream, that which we call the Hudson or North River. Satisfied with what they had seen, they, (or some of them) after a long absence, returned to their nation and reported the discoveries they had made; they described the country they had discovered as abounding in game and various kinds of fruits; and the rivers and bays, with fish, tortoises, etc., together with abundance of water-fowl, and no enemy to be dreaded. They considered the event as a fortunate one for them, and concluding this to be the country destined for them by the Great Spirit, they began to emigrate thither,

[1]This is taken to imply the glades of the Alleghany mountains.

as yet but in small bodies, so as not to be straitened for want of provisions by the way, some even laying by for a whole year; at last they settled on the four great rivers (which we call Delaware, Hudson, Susquehannah, and Potomack), making the Delaware, to which they gave the name of *"Lenâpé-wihittuck"* (the river or stream of the Lenâpé) the center of their possessions.

They say, however, that the whole of their nation did not reach this country; that many remained behind in order to aid and assist that great body



Axel Oxenstiern

Swedish statesman, 1583-1654. Assisted in founding the Swedish colony on the Delaware. Photographed especially for this work from a canvas in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania

of their people, which had not crossed the Namæsi Sipu, but had retreated into the interior of the country on the other side, on being informed of the reception which those who had crossed had met with, and probably thinking that they had all been killed by the enemy.

Their nation finally became divided into three separate bodies; the larger body, which they suppose to have been one-half of the whole, was settled on the Atlantic, and the other half was again divided into two parts, one of which, the strongest as they suppose, remained beyond the Mississippi, and the remainder, where they left them, on this side of that river.

CHAPTER II

PIONEER WHITE MEN IN PENNSYLVANIA.—1608-1638

TWO great waterways south of Pennsylvania admit ships from Europe, and by them the white men came. Their first approach was up the Chesapeake.

At the height of summer, 1608, the Susquehannock Indians, at their "town" on the east bank of the Susquehanna river, within what we know as Lancaster county, received a message, hastily brought from below by two Indians, that strangers who had come up the great bay in a boat wished to see them. How the messengers described these strangers we can surmise; doubtless they gave them the character of superhuman beings—gods worthy of worship—for such the white men seemed to the Indians, when first seen.

The visitors were a boat-load, thirteen altogether, of those English colonists who had begun their troublous experiences at Jamestown, in Virginia, the year before. In command of the party was that famous figure in the history of American exploration and colonization, Captain John Smith, hero according to his own account of many adventures by sea and land, in the Old World and the New, occasion of interminable disputes to historians, author of the earliest tolerable map of the region we are now describing. Captain Smith and his party had left Jamestown on the 24th of July, and with sail and oar, encountering some dangers and no small privation, including fever that disabled several, had toiled up to the head of the bay. There they encountered

sundry Indians, including a war party of "Massawomeks," whom the Jamestown captain met warily, for he had heard of them farther down the bay, from tribes on the eastern shore, the Nanticokes perhaps, as a "strenuous" people, greedy of spoil, delighted to shed blood.

"In crossing the bay," Smith says, "we encountered seven or eight canowes full of Massawomeks." After delay and parley, they "presented our Captaine with venison, beares flesh, fish, bowes, arrowes, clubs, targets, and beare skinnes." They had just been at war with the Tockwoghs, near by, and in evidence showed "greene wounds," which they had received in the conflict. They parted from Smith at nightfall, promising as he understood to return in the morning, then paddled away up a river on the west side of the bay, which he called Willowby's, and which is supposed to be the Bush. In the morning they did not reappear; Smith saw them no more.

These "Massawomeks" are supposed to have been Iroquois of New York, from the descriptions which we shall have in a moment, derived from the Susquehannocks. The Tockwoghs who had given them the wounds, yet "greene," were a small tribe on a river on the east side of the Chesapeake, identified now as the Sassafras. To them Smith paid a visit, and they received him in friendship. His account says: "Many hatchets, knives, peeces of iron and brass we saw amongst them which they reported to have from the Susquehannocks, mightie people and mortall enemies with the Massawomeks. The Susquehannocks inhabit upon the chiefe spring of these four Branches of the bays head, two days higher than our barge could pass for rocks, yet we prevailed with the Interpreter to take with him another Interpreter to persuade the Susquehannocks to come visit us, for their language are different."

The head of Chesapeake bay Smith found "six or seven miles in breadth. It divides itself into four branches, the best cometh [from] northwest from among the mountains, but though

canowes may goe a day's journey or two up it we could not get two miles up it with our boats for rocks." This, of course, was the Susquehanna. It is evident that he came near to, but probably not over, the line of Pennsylvania. "Having lost our grapnell among the rocks," he adds, "we were neare two hundred myles from home and our barge about two tuns." His crew were disabled; of the six sailors four were prostrated with sickness, leaving but two to help him navigate, for the other six, he says, were "gentlemen."

On the Sassafras, enjoying the hospitality of the friendly Tockwoghs "three or four days," they waited for the return of the two messengers sent to the Susquehannocks. At the end of that time they were rewarded; the Pennsylvanians came. Smith's story proceeds:

"Sixty of these Susquehannocks came to us, with skins, bowes, arrowes, targets, beeds, swords, & tobacco pipes for presents. Such great and well proportioned men are seldom seen, for they seemed like giants to the English, yea, and to the neighbours, yet seemed of an honest and simple disposition. They were with much adoe restrained from adoring us as gods. These are the strangest people of all these countries, both in language and attire; for their language it may well become their proportions, sounding from them as a voyce in the vault. Their attire is the skinnes of bears, and wolves, some have cossacks made of beares heads and skinnes, that a man's head goes through the skinnes neck, and the eares of the beare fastened to his shoulders, the nose and teeth hanging down his breast, another beares face split behind him, and at the end of the nose hung a paw, the half sleeves coming to the elbowes were the necks of beares, and the armes through the mouth with pawes hanging at their noses. One had the head of a wolfe hanging in a chaine for a jewell, his tobacco-pipe three quarters of a yard long, prettily carved with a bird, a deare, or some such devise at the great end, sufficient to beat out ones braines: with bowes, arrowes, and clubs, sutable to their greatnesse. Five

of their chiefe Werowances came aboord us and crossed the bay in the barge. The picture of the greatest of them is signified in the mappe. The calfe of whose leg was three quarters of a yard about, and all the rest of his limbs so answerable to that proportion that he seemed the goodliest man we ever beheld. His hayre, the one side was long, the other shore close with a ridge over his crowne like a cocks combe. His arrowes were five quarters long, headed with the splinters of a white christall-like stone, in forme of a heart, an inch broad, an inch and a halfe or more long. These he wore in a woolves skinne at his backe for his quiver, his bow in the one hand and his clubbe in the other, as is described."

These Susquehannocks, Smith goes on to say, "are scarce knowne to Powhatan. They can make neare six hundred able men,"—the usual exaggeration—"and are palisadoed in their towns to defend them from the Massawomeks." The adoration of Smith already alluded to they testified "most passionately," although he rebuked them. They sang first "a most fearful song," then "with a most strange, furious action and a hellish voice began an oration." When it was at last ended, "with a great painted beares-skin they covered him: then one ready with a great chayne of white beads, weighing at least six or seven pounds, hung it about his necke; the others had 18 mantels, made of divers sorts of skinnes sewed together; all these with many other toyes they layd at his feete, stroking their ceremonious hands about his necke for his creation to be their governor and protector, promising their aydes, victualls, or what they had to be his, if he would stay with them, to defend and revenge them of the Massawomeks."

This was impossible. "We left them at Tockwogh," says Smith, "sorrowing for our departure, yet we promised the next yeare againe to visit them. Many descriptions and discourses they made us, of Atquanachack, Massawomek, and other people, signifying they inhabit upon a great river beyond the mountaines, which we understood to be some great lake, or the river of Canada: and from the French to have their hatchets and commodities by trade."

Such were the Pennsylvanians of the lower Susquehanna, in the year 1608, according to Captain John Smith. His story must have the substance of truth, and though somewhat warily we are obliged to accept it as history. The heroic "werowance," the giant Indian with the enormous leg, stands indeed upon Smith's "mappe" to this day, towering over the rude delineation of bay and river, creek and mountain. That the bold captain exaggerated his proportions somewhat is most probable, yet human skeletons of extraordinary size have been dug up on the lower Susquehanna in our day, and may have been frames of such men as came to meet the white strangers in August, 1608.

At the least, we may say with confidence that here was the first contact of white men with the native people of Pennsylvania; if Smith did not actually come within the line of our present State, he saw its inhabitants earliest of all the European pioneers, and the red men, meeting him and his company, beheld for the first time the race that was coming to dispossess them.

Twelve months after Smith's visit to the head of the Chesapeake it was that by the voyage of Henry Hudson along the Atlantic coast the existence of Delaware Bay became definitely known to the white men, and a new way to Pennsylvania was ready for opening. On the 28th of August, 1609—a month later, as has been said in the preceding chapter, than Champlain's momentous encounter with the Mohawks at Ticonderoga—Hudson's *Half Moon,* coming slowly up from the Chesapeake Capes, past Chincoteague and the low sand-beaches of Rehoboth, entered the Capes of the Delaware. Hudson was an Englishman, but in the service now of the Dutch. The republic of the Netherlands, after a struggle never surpassed for heroism and constancy, had won a truce with Philip of Spain, and the Dutch merchants had sent the English captain out upon the old quest, a short way to China. He brought his little ship into the bay cautiously. It was about noon. The day was very warm. The place was wholly unknown to him, but the broad bay, bringing down its flood of

waters, encouraged the hope that here at last might be a northwest passage to Cathay. The afternoon was spent in soundings, for shoal ground, now familiar to ship-captains and pilots, discouraged incautious movement, and once the *Half-Moon* touched bottom. Finally, at evening, Hudson cast anchor in eight fathoms of water, and next morning, deciding that "he who would thoroughly discover this great bay must have a small pinnace to send before him," sailed northward up the New Jersey coast, and a few days later entered the great river that since has borne his name.

Slight as this event seems in the narration, it has great importance in the history we are now presenting. Hudson made known thus to his employers, the Dutch East India Company, and to the sea-faring nations of western Europe, the existence of this wide bay, into which, as he perceived, a great river must discharge. His discovery laid the ground for the claim by the Dutch to the country on the Delaware. Exploration followed, then trade, then occupancy, so a new state. We shall find all this following in its time.

But neither John Smith nor Henry Hudson, as we have seen, entered Pennsylvania. They approached or reached the open doorway, but did not come inside. The actual visit of a white man was not made for six years after Hudson's call at the Capes. Apparently the first of white pioneers in Pennsylvania was a Frenchman, who came from Canada, Etienne Brulé, a follower of Champlain, the first Governor of New France. He was Champlain's interpreter and guide, "the dauntless woodsman, pioneer of pioneers," Parkman calls him—yet a man, it would appear, of qualities not all heroic.

We are not to forget that the French were in Canada long years before the English were in Virginia, or the Dutch at Manhattan. It was in 1534 that Jacques Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence, and from that time there was French trade on that river; not until 1607 did the Jamestown colonists enter the Chesapeake, and settlement in that quarter begin. It would not be sur-

prising, then, if one of Champlain's men, detached on some errand from one of the French excursions or forays into New York, should penetrate the unknown country to the south a little farther, and enter Pennsylvania. This, it seems, is what happened. In the summer of 1615, Champlain sent Brulé southward from Lake Ontario, through the country of the hostile Iroquois, to hasten the march of five hundred Indians of the Susquehanna region who had promised to join him in an attack on an Iroquois stronghold. Brulé went, accompanied by twelve Hurons. It was in the early autumn, the beginning of September. He and his companions made their way stealthily, and not without perilous adventure, southward to an Indian town which Champlain calls, in his narrative, Carantouan. It was palisaded; it could send out eight hundred warriors; its population, by such an estimate—very excessive it would seem—would be four thousand. It was situated "three days distant" from the Iroquois town (probably the place known to us as Nichol's Pond, in the town of Fenner, in Madison county, New York, near Lake Oneida), which Champlain and the Hurons meant to attack, and so must have been near, if not actually within, the limits of Pennsylvania.

Brulé and his five hundred allies arrived before the Iroquois fortress too late to aid Champlain, who had failed, had been wounded, and had retreated to Canada; he returned, therefore, with them, to Carantouan, and according to the account which he gave Champlain when next they met, three years later, he spent the winter, 1615-1616, in a tour of exploration into the regions southward from that place. His adventures are thus recorded in the "Voyages" of Champlain:

"Brulé was obliged to stay and spend the rest of the autumn and all the winter, for lack of company and escort home. While awaiting, he busied himself in exploring the country and visiting the tribes and territories adjacent to that place, and in making a tour along a river that debouches in the direction of Florida, where are many powerful and warlike nations, carrying on wars against

THE PORTRAICTVER OF CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH
ADMIRALL OF NEW ENGLAND
Aetis 37
Ao 1618
These are the Lines that shew thy Face; but those
That shew thy Grace and Glory brighter bee:
Thy Faire-Discoueries and Fowle-Overthrowes
Of Salvages, much Civilliz'd by thee
Best shew thy Spirit; and to it Glory Wyn
So, thou art Brasse without, but Golde within.
If so; in Brasse too soft smiths Acts to beare
I fix thy Fame, to make Brasse steele out weare.
Thine, as thou art Virtues.
John Davies. Heref:

John Smith

Born 1580; died 1631

each other. The climate there is very temperate, and there are great numbers of animals and abundance of small game. But to traverse and reach these regions requires practice, on account of the difficulties involved in passing the extensive wastes.

"He continued his course along the river as far as the sea, and to islands, and lands near them, which are inhabited by various tribes and large numbers of savages, who are well disposed and love the French above all nations. But those who know the Dutch complain severely of them, since they treat them very roughly. Among other things he observed that the winter was very temperate, that it snowed very rarely, and that when it did the snow was not a foot deep and melted immediately.

"After traversing the country and observing what was noteworthy, he returned to the village of Carantouan, in order to find an escort for returning to our settlement."

And this is the story of Etienne Brulé's entrance upon and exploration of Central Pennsylvania, and the country farther southward. It seems meagre, it must be confessed; but we are to consider that it is the condensed account, given by Champlain (or the editor of his book), in the midst of matters which seemed to the Frenchman much more important. It exhibits Brulé as not merely coming across the line of Pennsylvania, or venturing a little way within, but traversing the State from the line of New York to the line of Maryland, exploring the valley of the Susquehanna through most of its length. Presumably he returned through the same region, if not precisely by the same route, to Carantouan, and he had thus gained by observation a knowledge of a large section of Pennsylvania—knowledge which hardly for a century to come any other white man would possess.

And now we return again to the Delaware, for there the venturing ships from Europe will presently come into Pennsylvania waters. After Hudson, almost precisely a twelvemonth, there came to the mouth of the bay, as he had done, one of the Virginia adventurers, Captain Samuel Argall, who had left Jamestown in

June, 1610, on a voyage to seek provisions. He entered the bay on the 27th of August, and gave it the name Delaware, after Lord de la Warr, then Governor of Virginia. He "came to anchor," he says, "in a very great bay," where he "found great store of people, which were very kind." They promised him that the next day they would bring him "great store of corne," but in the evening, the wind suddenly changing, he judged it best to sail away.

The fame of Henry Hudson's voyage, and especially of his discovery of a great river flowing through a land rich with furs, roused the Dutch merchants and seamen, and ships from Holland soon after 1609 began to gather at the island called Manhattes, or Manhattan. Precisely what ships came, and when, in this early period, belongs to the history of New York, and in fact is but vaguely and incompletely known; but by 1614 there were or had lately been at Manhattan at least five vessels from Dutch ports, seeking cargoes of furs. One of them, it is said, commanded by Cornelius Mey, came that year down the New Jersey coast and entered Delaware bay, where Mey gave to the two capes the names which one of them for a long time, and the other permanently kept—Mey, the eastern, and Cornelius, now Henlopen, the western. This voyage may have been made in 1614, or it may not; it is at least quite as likely that Mey named the capes on a later voyage in 1623, of which we shall speak presently.

Of the ships at Manhattan in 1614, one, the *Tiger,* commanded by Captain Adrian Block, by some mischance was burned, and thereupon Block built, in the spring of that year, on the shore of Manhattan Island," a little "yacht," to take her place. This was the *Onrust*—Restless—famous ever since, because by many she has been supposed to be the first sea-going vessel built by white men within the limits of the original Union. Really she was the second, and a mere cock-boat indeed, judged by modern standards, for her length was forty-four and a half feet, her width eleven and a half, and her capacity "eight lasts," about sixteen tons. Yet in craft not much larger mariners ventured on long voyages in those days.

Gustavus Adolphus

King of Sweden from 1611 to 1632, when he was killed in the battle of Lutzen. Born 1594. Photographed especially for this work by J. F. Sachse from a canvas in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania

The *Onrust* was employed, her owners reported in 1616, "during the space of three years"—i. e. 1614, 1615, and 1616—in "looking for new countries, havens, bays and rivers." For such a purpose she served well. Sailing in her from Manhattan in 1614, Captain Block explored the coast eastward as far as Cape Cod, leaving Dutch names on land and water, his own for the small island at the eastern end of Long Island, where it yet remains. Then, promptly on completing his trip, he returned to Holland, and the *Onrust* was left to other commanders.

Two years later, it is supposed, another of the Dutch skippers, Cornelius Hendricksen, "of Munnickendam," brought the *Onrust* to the Delaware, and ascended in her the bay and river as far as the mouth of the Schuylkill. If he made such a voyage in 1616, it must have been early in the year, for on the 16th of August, that year, the owners of the *Onrust* petitioned the States-General of The Netherlands for a grant of privileges of trade, on account of the discoveries which they asserted Hendricksen had made in her, and which he, being himself then at The Hague, was called upon, in their behalf, to describe and verify.

It is not of great importance to the history of Pennsylvania whether Hendricksen's voyagings in the *Onrust* included such a visit to the Delaware or not. Yet in dealing with these beginnings of the State this episode, accorded respect by nearly all our historical writers, can hardly be passed over. Hendricksen's own statement, drawn up for the States-General, affords no good evidence that he ever entered the bay, or even visited the capes. His report, read August 19, 1616, is simply this:

"He hath discovered for his aforesaid Masters and Directors certain lands, a bay and three rivers, situate between 38 and 40 degrees. And did there trade with the inhabitants; said trade consisting of Sables, Furs, Robes and other Skins. He hath found the said country full of trees, to-wit: oaks, hickory, and pines, which trees were in some places covered with vines. He hath seen in the said country bucks and does, turkeys and part-

ridges. He hath found the climate of the said country very temperate, judging it to be as temperate as that of this country, Holland. He also traded for and bought from the inhabitants, the Minquas, three persons, being people belonging to this Company, which three persons were employed in the service of the Mohawks and Machicans, giving for them kettles, beads, and merchandise."

It is perplexing to read this report—so vague, so general, so wanting in particulars which would make it certain that Hendricksen had really explored the Delaware. But we must take it as it is, and decide, by the study of other evidence, what its significance ought to be. One word in it fixes our attention, "Minquas;" as for the trees, furs, vines, birds, and animals, they might have been found over a wide area of country besides that on the Delaware. Minquas, as we have learned, was the Dutch name for the Indians of the Susquehanna region, who came at times in war-parties to the Delaware. Except for this word it could as readily be believed that Hendricksen's "bay and three rivers" were on the coast of New Jersey, or between Cape Henlopen and Chincoteague.

But the owners of the *Onrust,* in their petition, referred to a "carte figurative," a map, which they had placed on file. This, they said, exhibited the field of Hendricksen's discoveries. Let us turn to this. What map was it? In 1841, Mr. John Romeyn Brodhead, agent of the State of New York, searching the Dutch archives at The Hague, found two maps which seemed to have been submitted to the States-General about the time we are considering, one of which was probably the map referred to. One of them, on paper, was larger than the other; the smaller was handsomely drawn on parchment. On the face of the paper map, inland, near the word "Minquaas," there is a memorandum, and this vaguely suggests, though it does not perfectly fit, Hendricksen's statement that he had ransomed from the Minquas, on his voyage, three employés of "the Company." This memorandum, translated, runs as follows:

"N. B. Of what Kleynties and his comrade have communicated to me respecting the locality of the rivers and the position of the tribes which they found in their expedition from the Maquaas in to the interior and along the New River downwards to

James I

King of England, 1603-1625. Photographed especially for this work from a rare print in possession of Charles P. Keith

the *Ogehage* (that is to say the enemies of the aforesaid Northern tribes), I cannot at present find anything at hand except two rough drafts of maps partly drawn with accuracy. And in deliberately considering how I can best reconcile this one with the rough drafts communicated, I find that the places of the tribes of the Sennecas, Gachoos, Capitanasses, and Jottecas ought to be marked down considerably further west into the country."

Obviously this memorandum is the confession of the conscientious Dutch map-maker that the materials given him for his inland work are impossible to be brought into satisfactory order. The allusion to "Kleynties and his comrade," or comrades, has interest and probable significance. They made, it seems, an expedition; it was from the Maquaas—Mohawks—into the interior, then along the New River—a Dutch name, among many, for the Delaware—and downward to enemies of the Maquaas. This would reasonably be a trip from the Mohawk country into that of the Lenâpé—Algonkian enemies of the Iroquois—or into the country raided at times by the Susquehannocks.

This larger map, the paper one containing the memorandum, is much more than the other a map of the Delaware bay and lower river, though very incorrectly drawn in many particulars. It shows a bay, unnamed, nearly where the Delaware bay should be; into its west side, low down, flows a river, which comes from far in the north, where it issues from a large lake, "Versch water," close to a river flowing eastward to the Hudson—evidently the Mohawk. On the west bank of the long river, above the bay, perhaps in the neighborhood of the Christiana, or Schuylkill, are indicated Indian lodges, with the name "Minquaas," attached; again, further up, on the east side, under the memorandum already quoted, this name "Minquaas" appears again.

Was this paper map the one on which the *Onrust* owners relied? It is impossible to say.[1] Neither of them is dated. The parchment map would naturally be thought the later one, for it presents more geographical detail, and is drawn with more precision. On it the coast-line from middle New Jersey to the Penobscot river is presented with tolerable accuracy, many place

[1]Mr. Brodhead ("History of New York," I., 757, 758), thinks it was—that it was a new map in 1616, prepared at that time, after Hendricksen's return from the Delaware to Holland, for the express purpose of supporting his owners' claims. But it was the parchment map that was attached to the memorial. And Mr. Brodhead himself (presumably) has placed on the bottom of the reproduced parchment copy (see "Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York," I., 13), a memorandum that *it* was the one that showed Hendricksen's discoveries.

names being given. It embodies, no doubt, the results of Block's cruise eastward from Manhattan, in the *Onrust,* in 1614. Far down in the left-hand corner, the entrance to Chesapeake bay is shown, and its capes are marked. But as to the lower Delaware it offers nothing which we can identify. Between Sandy Hook and Cape Charles it shows no real bay whatever. It suggests no Delaware capes, and has no names of any—despite Mey's reputed visit to and naming of them in 1614. A short, narrow, straight river, unnamed, is shown coming directly from the west, and entering the sea less than halfway down the New Jersey coast. Higher up on the map, however, there appear the upper reaches of a river. This river ends abruptly; it is cut squarely off, connected with nothing, its downward course suspended in air. On its bank is the indication of an Indian town and the name "Minquaas." This is nearly westward from Manhattan, and if strictly construed should signify the neighborhood north of the Lehigh's junction with the Delaware.

We have dwelt upon these maps because they are the earliest New Netherland cartography. Both show that up to 1616 little was known to the Dutch concerning the Delaware region. The data for it given the draftsman were evidently meagre and confused.

Historical works on Pennsylvania have accepted as conclusive the evidence that Hendricksen ascended the Delaware, "landed at several places, took soundings, drew charts, and discovered the general contour of the bay, and the capabilities of the river." It has also been taken as proved that three white men, employés of the Dutch Company at their fort near Albany, having left the Hudson Valley and reached the headwaters of the Delaware—or Susquehanna—had fallen into the hands of the Minquas (Susquehannocks), and being found by Hendricksen on the Delaware, were ransomed by him, at the place where Philadelphia now stands, or at the site of Wilmington.

It can only be said that putting together all the evidence, these statements are probably justified. The report of Hendricksen,

the memorandum on the map, and the collateral facts, point to such a conclusion as reasonable. It seems probable that the parchment map, notwithstanding its larger scope and fuller geographical detail, was the earlier; that it was drawn in 1614, upon the return of Adrian Block to Holland, and probably was used then to display his explorations; while the paper map was drawn in 1616 to show the region of Hendricksen's voyaging. As has already been said, the paper map suggests some knowledge of the lower Delaware, while the parchment one does not.

The States-General, whether on account of their wish not to arouse the English by too obvious a claim to regions which might belong to Virginia; or because the formation of the Dutch West India Company was in view; or because they doubted the reality or value of Hendricksen's voyage; or for some other reason, did not grant the *Onrust's* owners the trade monopoly they asked to "the bay and three rivers." Their High Mightinesses pondered over the skipper's report and the merchants' petition, postponed action on them, took them up again, postponed them again, looked at them a third time, and finally postponed them once more; and there the record ends.

It is to be said, of course, that if the Company's employés, "Kleynties and his comrade," or comrades, made the journey downward from Albany to the neighborhood of Philadelphia or Wilmington, by a route west of the Delaware, in the spring of 1616, they were nearly the earliest white visitors to Pennsylvania. Brulé probably left Carantouan in the autumn of 1615, and so preceded them but a few months.

Interest in the trade to America increased in the Dutch cities; the ambition of Netherlands statesmen and merchants for a firm hold in the New World became more definite. In June, 1621, the charter of the West India Company, whose plans had been for some time maturing, was granted by the Dutch government. The Company received by it the sole right, during twenty-four years, to trade to the African coast between the Tropic of Cancer and

the Cape of Good Hope, and to the American Coast between the Bay of New Foundland and Straits of Magellan.

Under the West India Company's authority, in 1623, Captain Cornelius Mey came again to America, and proceeded to the South River—the Delaware. He certainly ascended the bay and river, for either in that year or 1624 he built at or near where Gloucester now stands, on the New Jersey shore, a trading post, Fort Nassau. His operations doubtless brought him within the waters of Pennsylvania; if we lack confidence in the account of Hendricksen's visit, we must regard Mey as the first of the pioneers to the river front of the State.

Fort Nassau, a log structure, capable of defense against bows and arrows, sufficient for a depot of furs, but badly situated to command the commerce of the river, was the first place definitely occupied by white men on the Delaware. It stood for nearly thirty years, until 1651, and in that time was the center here of Dutch authority and trade. To it the New Jersey and Pennsylvania Indians, Lenâpé of many bands and local designations, brought their peltries to exchange for articles that served their use or pleased their fancy, or for rum that made them drunk.

The most careful study of all the shreds of evidence left to us fails to settle with certainty the precise site of Fort Nassau. So also are we unable to say whether it was not, time and again, partly or wholly abandoned in intervals of the fur trade. Manhattan was the seat of the Dutch authority, the capital of New Netherland, and the colony there seldom had strength to spare from its own affairs. In 1625, we are told by Wassanaar, "the Dutch had determined to abandon it and remove its occupants to New Amsterdam (Manhattan), to strengthen the latter colony, and avoid expense, a resolution they carried out, though they did not relinquish their trade with the Indians, but occasionally sent a yacht to the vicinity of the Fort." Four couples, "who had been married at sea," and eight seamen, were sent from Manhattan to the Fort, in 1623 or later; and another post was established at that

period, it is said, on Verhulsten's Island, up the Delaware, "near the Falls" (identified as Stacy's Island, near Morrisville), where "three or four families of Walloons" remained for a time, procuring furs from the natives.

We note, now, in the year 1626, an isolated fact, whose interest for us will presently appear. This was the appointment, and arrival at Manhattan in that year, May 4, of a new Director-General, Peter Minuit of Wesel. We shall soon hear of him in our field. The affairs of New Netherland, including the South River, were under his direction until the autumn of 1632. It was he who, soon after his arrival, "purchased" the island of Manhattan, "eleven thousand morgens," or about twenty-two thousand acres of land, of the Indians who had their gathering place there, "for the value of sixty guilders," say twenty-five dollars of modern money.

Up to 1631 no white man had made a settlement on the west bank of the Delaware. In that year there came to the southern cape, Cornelius, now Henlopen, a party of colonists sent out from Holland by David Peterson DeVries, the finest figure with whom this story of the pioneer time has to deal, a man energetic, humane, and intelligent. We learned little of the Delaware from Hendricksen and Mey; DeVries will furnish us a lucid account.

DeVries's party sailed from the Texel on the 12th of December, 1630, in the ship *Walrus*, commanded by Captain Peter Heyes, or Heyson, of Edam. There were on board "a number of people and a large stock of cattle." They came by the West Indies, the common route for ships in that day, and arriving in the early spring of 1631, landed near where the town of Lewes and the great breakwater now are, built a substantial house, surrounded it with palisades, and began their settlement. They intended to carry on a whale-fishery, and to cultivate "all sorts of grain" and tobacco. A few weeks later, the *Walrus* sailed on its return to Holland, and Gilles Hosset, or Osset, who had come out as "commissary," was left in charge of the colony.

Peter Stuyvesant

Governor of New Netherlands when what is now Pennsylvania was owned by Holland; born 1602, died 1682

This was Swanendael—Valley of Swans—first settlement undertaken on the west side of Delaware bay or river, and destined, alas! to a brief and disastrous experience. The year after the settlement was made, DeVries agreed with his associates in Holland, the "patroons" concerned in Swanendael, to go out himself. He was now a man of nearly forty; he had been born at Rochelle in France, in 1593, of Dutch parents who returned to Hoorn when he was four years old. His home was at Hoorn; he had married at twenty-seven, or earlier, and had made other voyages before this, in which he had proved his skill and courage. With two vessels, a "yacht," the *Squirrel,* and a larger ship, he now left the Texel May 24, 1632, to be in good time at his colony, for the winter fishery. The whales, he understood, "came in the winter, and remained until March."

As he was leaving Holland bad news reached him—that Swanendael had been destroyed by the Indians! The expedition proceeded, but the voyage was long. Going by the Madeira islands, Barbadoes, St. Vincent, St. Christopher, it was the 5th of December when they reached Cape Cornelius, and found the melancholy report only too true! On the 6th he went ashore to see the desolate place. The palisaded house "was almost burnt up." "I found," he says, "lying here and there, the skulls and bones of our people, and the heads of the horses and cows which they had brought with them." No Indians were visible, but "the business being undone"—as was sadly plain—he "came on board the boat, and let the gunner fire a shot to see if we could find any trace of them." The next day some appeared.

In the conferences that followed DeVries obtained some explanation of the disaster. It seemed to have been the result of misunderstanding, as is often the case when blood is shed. An Indian who was induced to remain on board the yacht all night the 8th of December, rehearsed the story. The Dutch had set up, as the sign of possession, a piece of tin, bearing the Netherland arms. An Indian carried off the tin "for the purpose of making tobacco

pipes." The Dutch complained of this, and some one or more of the Indians, designing, it would appear, to enforce law and order with vigor, put the offender to death. Then his partisans, totemic brethren, no doubt, executing swiftly the blood revenge, fell upon the settlers when they were unsuspecting and unprepared, and slew them all, thirty-two persons. Was it Commissary Hosset's fault? He died with the rest. From DeVries's report of the Indian's story there was no reason to blame him. But the colony was ruined.

DeVries did not "chastise" the natives, nor send out "punitive expeditions;" more bloodshed would not heal the wounds already made. With a view to future fishing, he exchanged some goods with them, and made an engagement of peace. Then, taking six men in the *Squirrel,* and leaving the ship at anchor inside the cape, on the 1st day of January, 1634,[1] he proceeded up the river—on his guard now, as his narrative shows, whenever an Indian was met. On the 6th he was at Fort Nassau, "the little fort," he says, "where formerly some families of the West India Company had dwelt." It was now deserted, except by Indians. Suspicious of these, he received with extreme caution their overtures to trade. Some of them, he mentions, "began to play tunes with reeds," and speaking of a "canoe" he adds, "which is a boat hollowed out of a tree." For four days he remained near the Fort, always wary and watchful. An Indian woman, a Sankitan, warned him not to haul his yacht into the narrow Timmer-kill, lest he should be surprised there, and told him that not long before the Mantes, of "Red Hook" (our Red Bank), had "killed some Englishmen who had gone into Count Ernest's river in a sloop," a story which seemed supported when he found some of the Mantes protected against the January cold by "English jackets" which they wore. Afterward, in Virginia, he heard that a party had been sent from there in September to explore the river, and had not returned.

No one, however, now hurt a hair of the heads of DeVries or his men. It seems doubtful whether the Indians had any hostile

[1]New Style.

intent. They persisted in overtures for friendly trade, and brought him beaver-skins for presents, declining gifts from him, because that would make it a mere exchange. Eventually he traded with them, "duffels, kettles, and axes," for "Indian corn of various colors," and some skins. On the 10th (January), he drifted his yacht off on the ebb-tide, anchored at noon "on the bar at Jacques Island," and on the 11th reached the Minquas kill (our Christiana), and on the 13th rejoined his ship at Swanendael.

A second time, however, he ascended the river. Putting some "goods" for trade into the yacht, he sailed again on the 18th, and next day came within a mile of Jacques Island, where he hauled into a creek, with two fathoms of water at high tide. Here ice began to trouble him. But he thought it "a fine country." "Many vines grow wild, so that we gave it the name of Wyngaert's Kill." "Went out daily while here," he adds, "to shoot. Shot many wild turkeys weighing thirty to thirty-six pounds. Their great size and fine flavour are surprising. We were frozen up in this kill from the 19th (January) to the 3d of February. During this time we perceived no Indians, though we saw here and there at times great fires on the land, but we saw neither men nor canoes, because the river was closed by the ice."

Jacques Island has been identified as Little Tinicum, opposite the greater Tinicum which is part of Delaware county. The kill in which he lay was therefore Ridley, or perhaps Chester, creek. In either case we have here a visit to Pennsylvania made definite, and the land itself described.

Getting clear of ice on February 3d, they sailed once more up to the Fort, but found no one, white or red. It "began to freeze again," so a second time DeVries took the *Squirrel* to the west shore for shelter. They "hauled into a little kill over against the Fort," a stream which must have been within the present limits of Philadelphia, perhaps Hollander's Creek. Here they lay until the 14th. For several days no Indians came, except one woman, who brought maize and beans, of which DeVries bought "a parcel."

But on the 11th Indians appeared—and an ill-looking party! They came across the river from the Fort, on the ice, pulling their canoes. There were "full fifty" of them, and they proved to be not the natives of the region about, but dangerous strangers, a war-party of "Minquas," who, DeVries says, "dwell among the English of Virginia"—probably our Susquehannocks, whose habitat he was unable to know very exactly. He says they were "six hundred strong;" but perhaps this means the fighting strength of the tribe, not of this particular war-party. DeVries feared they meant him ill, and regarded his escape from them, which he presently effected, as a deliverance to be thankful for—all the more when on the 13th three neighboring Indians came timidly to him, and related their sufferings at the hands of the Minquas. Ninety of the Sankikans, they said, had been killed by them. Next day the weather was milder, the ice in the kill and river softened, and DeVries was glad to get the *Squirrel* out and away toward the capes. On the 20th he reached there, safely, and soon after sailed for Virginia.

"This is a very fine river," he says in his account, "and the land all beautifully level, full of groves of oak, hickory, ash and chestnut trees, and also vines which grow upon the trees. The river has a great plenty of fish, the same as those in our fatherland, perch, roach, pike, sturgeon, and similar fish. . . . We fished once with our seine, and caught at one draught as many as thirty men could eat. . . . In winter time, from Virginia to Swanendael, there are hundreds of thousands of geese, both gray and white. The country is also full of wild turkeys, and has a great many deer."

Five years lay between the departure of DeVries and the arrival of the Swedes. In these years the Dutch continued their trade on South River, practically undisturbed. Controversies between the West India Company and some of its prominent members, the "patroons"—Van Rensselaer, and others—over the great grants of manorial lands which the latter had secured on the

Henry Hudson

Navigator; entered what is now Delaware bay August 28, 1609; discovered the river called Hudson September 3, 1609; discovered bay bearing his name 1610. No authentic portrait of Hudson exists, but the above is generally believed to be a correct likeness

Hudson and elsewhere, and on which they claimed freedom of trade with the Indians, in competition with the Company, caused the recall of Minuit to Holland. He left Manhattan in the spring of 1632, and his successor, Wouter Van Twiller, did not arrive for a year. It was in this interval of authority that the South River was neglected, and Fort Nassau left, as DeVries found it, unoccupied. Van Twiller, however, when he reached Manhattan, soon sent over a new "Commissary," Arent Corssen, who arrived within a few weeks after the departure of DeVries. He was instructed to build a new house, and make repairs, and furthermore to establish a hold on the west bank of the river, where it was now plain that trade with the Indians of the interior must naturally centre.

That the Commissary made such a purchase in that year, 1633, on the west bank, where Philadelphia now stands, was claimed afterward by the Dutch. They produced in 1648 a deed of confirmation, by which Amatehooran, Sinquees, and five other Indians declared they had previously sold "the Schuylkill and adjoining lands" to Corssen. On the ground thus acquired, Fort Beversrede, which will be mentioned hereafter, was said to have been built.

While the Dutch held the trade of the river, they were not without visitors. Two of these, Englishmen, Captain Thomas Yong, or Young, and his nephew, Robert Evelin, came in July, 1634, in a ship which had left Falmouth, in England, in May. Their voyage appears connected with the curious episode of the grant of "New Albion" to Sir Edmund Plowden, by Charles I., and this story may as well be related here. In many of our histories Sir Edmund appears as a mythical personage, a sort of blending of Baron Munchausen and Don Quixote, yet he was a man of actual flesh and blood, and the facts ascertained concerning him can be plainly told. He was of a family in Shropshire, Catholics, and about the time that Charles I. gave Lord Baltimore the Maryland grant, but a little later, he gave to Plowden a grant

also of a "county palatine," vaguely described, but interpreted to mean a tract lying between Maryland and the Hudson River, partly the country then held by the Dutch. It would have included, apparently, the whole of the Delaware region, and most of

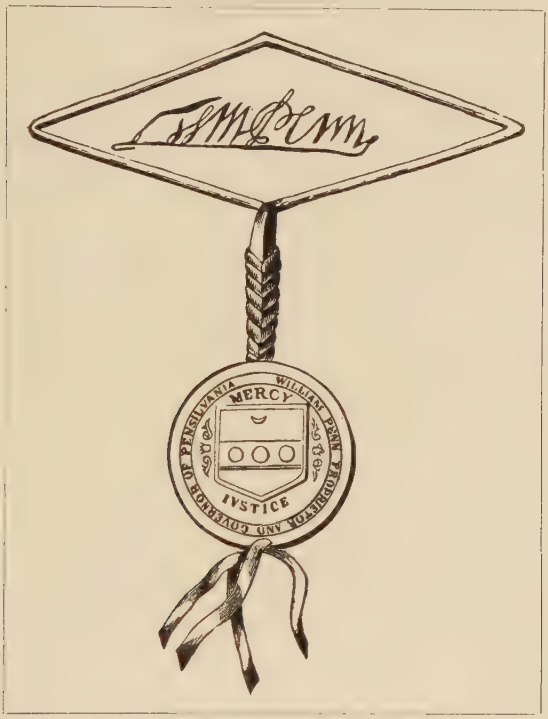
Portrait of Charles II

On charter granted to Penn; King of England, 1660-1685

New Jersey. A patent, in Latin, making this grant, is on record in Dublin, witnessed by the Deputy-General for Ireland, June 21, 1634.

It is presumed that Sir Edmund Plowden was then living in Ireland. He was one of the Catholic party, probably, in the controversies that were gathering about the king. The grant, it seems, had the royal privy-seal, but never "passed" the great seal of crown authority. Upon it Sir Edmund assumed, as far as he

could, the dignities of a "lord palatine," and formed and announced large, if vague, plans. In 1641, "Master Robert Evelin," who had been to the Delaware with Yong, in 1634, pub-



William Penn's autograph and seal on the Charter of 1683

lished in England, a "Direction for Adventurers, and Description of New Albion," in the form of a letter addressed to Sir Edmund's wife, and in 1648 this was republished in a tract, often cited by historians, "Description of New Albion," etc. Evelin seems to have desired to forward the plans of Plowden.

In 1641, Sir Edmund came to America, and for seven years stayed usually in Virginia, coming to the Delaware district in 1643

certainly, and possibly at other times. His visit in the year named is described particularly in a report of Governor Printz, then the Swedish Governor on the Delaware, who relates also the narrow escape Plowden had from death on an island near Chincoteague, where he had been "marooned" by his ship's crew. But after all nothing practical came of "New Albion." It was a paper state, and nothing more. Plowden never established his claims, either by law or by force, and never entered into possession of his county palatine. Of all the many settlers whom he alleged to be on the way to occupy it, of all the lords, ladies, knights, gentlemen, and adventurers who, he professed, had resolved to remove hither, none actually appeared. In 1648 he returned to England, and in 1655 he made his will, in which he called himself "of Wansted, in the county of Southampton," and also "Lorde, Earle Palatine, Governour, Captaine Generall of the province of New Albion in America"—phrases which did no one any harm, and made the wording of the will sound more impressive. In 1659 he died, but as late as the period of the American Revolution some infatuated persons thought they might secure land in New Jersey on the basis of his "palatine" grant.

We return, now, to Yong and Evelin, and their visit in 1634. It is strongly suggested by all the circumstances that this was a voyage to spy out the land in the interest of Sir Edmund Plowden. The dates point to this. In September, 1633, Charles I. had given Yong a sort of "roving commission" to go forth and discover lands in America, not "actually in the possession of any Christian prince." Coming first to the Chesapeake, Captain Yong appeared at the Delaware capes on the 24th of July, 1634. He may have been unaware of the extent of the Dutch occupation, and very possibly may have heard rumors of the abandonment of Fort Nassau; at any rate, he seems to have thought the region answered the description of his commission. He renamed the river Charles, after the king. Sailing slowly up, he and his companions were at the Schuylkill on the 22d of August, remaining

there five days, and on the 20th reached shoal water at the "Falls," near Trenton, where they also encountered some "Hollanders of Hudson's River," who were inclined not to do them violence, but to impress them that they were trespassers. Later, Evelin is said to have explored the New Jersey coast, and then to have returned and made a further attempt to get up the Delaware above the Falls; the old idea of a short passage to China and the Indies seems to have been vaguely in the minds of himself and his uncle. Evelin was a brother of George Evelin, who was connected with Claiborne, the Maryland "rebel," in the settlement and enterprises at Kent Island on the Chesapeake.

Captain Yong made a report to Secretary Windebanke, in England, of his observations on this trip on the Delaware. He thought it a fine river. "The quantity of fowle," he said, "is so great as can hardly be believed, wee tooke at one time 48 partrices together as they crossed the river chased by wild hawks. . . . There are infinite numbers of wild pigeons, blackbirds, Turkeys, Swans, wild geese, ducks, teals, widgions, brants, herons, cranes, &c., of which there is so great abundance as that the rivers and rockes are covered with them in winter . . . for my part I am confident that the River is the most healthfull, fruitful and commodious River in all the north of America to be planted."

One of the vague and shadowy stories connected with Yong and Evelin is that they built, or began to build, a fort on the Delaware, at a place called by them "Eriwomock." In the "New Albion" description of 1648 it is said that the Dutch, "hearing that Captain Young and Master Evelin had given over [abandoned] their fort, begun at Eriwomeck," etc., etc. From the description, historians of New Jersey would place the fort on the east bank of the river, at the mouth of Pensaukin creek, near Camden. A more probable site is on the west side, within the present limits of Philadelphia. That it existed at all is questionable; that it had no influence of importance upon the course of affairs on the Delaware is quite certain.

Some of Evelin's descriptions are of interest. He speaks in high praise of the abundant wild life on the bay and river. "I saw there," he says, "an infinite variety of bustards, swans, geese and fowl, covering the shoares, as within the like multitude of pigeons, and store of turkies, of which I tried one to weigh forty and sixe pounds. There is much variety and plenty of delicate

Arms of Penn

perch and sea-fish, and shell-fish, and whales, or grampus; elks, deere that bring forth three young at a time. . . The barren grounds have four kindes of grapes and many mulberries, with ash, elms, and the tallest and greatest pines and pitch trees that I have seen. There are cedars, cypresse, and sassafras, with wild fruits, pears, wild cherries, pine-apples, and the dainty parsemenas,"—persimmons, no doubt.

He made an estimate of the number of Indians on the Delaware. "I do account," he says, "all the Indians to be eight hundred, and are in several factions, and war against the Susquehannocks, and are all extreme fearfull of a gun, naked and unarmed

against our shot, swords, and pikes. . . Since my return eighteen Swedes are settled there, and so [also] sometimes six Dutch doe in a boat trade without fear of them." He thought it needless to build a fort, "where there is no enemy," and in reference to the danger from the Indians adds: "for note generally twelve English, with five foot calivers, shoot thirty pellets, or dagge shot, and fifty yards' distance, and the naked Indian shooteth but one arrow, and not thirty yards' distance. . . And therefore fair and far off is best with Heathen Indians; and fit it is to reduce all their trading Posts or Palisadoed trucking-houses, and to kill all straglers and such spies without ransome." Which would seem to indicate that the Indians had no need to wish to exchange their Dutch neighbors for the company of Master Evelin!

More alarming to the Dutch than the visit of Yong and Evelin, or the claims of Sir Edmund Plowden, was a demonstration of force from Virginia. DeVries, when he left the Delaware in 1633, went to Jamestown, and there in conversation with the Governor, Sir John Harvey, probably disclosed what he had found—or not found—at Fort Nassau. The consequence was that two years later the acting governor of Virginia, Captain West, thought it a good move to send and seize the river. In August, 1635, he dispatched an armed party, about fifteen men, from Old Point Comfort, under Captain George Holmes, who reached Fort Nassau, found it practically or entirely undefended, and summarily took possession. One of the party, however, deserted, and hurrying across country, bore the startling news to Manhattan. Van Twiller perceived the critical situation and sent an armed vessel with a sufficient force, who promptly retook the place. Holmes and his men were carried prisoners to Manhattan, and thence were sent back to Virginia just in time to stop a second party coming to reinforce them at Fort Nassau.

Had England not been, at this moment, in the political distractions which preceded her Civil War, these occasional spyings

and surprises would have taken a more definite and systematic form. When Minuit went home from Manhattan in 1632, his ship was driven by bad weather into the English port of Plymouth. There she was seized upon the charge of illegal trading within the dominions of King Charles. After earnest protestations from the Dutch, and negotiation for several weeks, the ship was released, but the English ministry then declared that England claimed the region occupied by the Dutch, upon a title derived from "first discovery, occupation and possession," that she regarded title from the Indians as of no value, they not being "bona fide possessors" of the land, capable of making a conveyance for it. The Dutch were flatly told that if they would "submit themselves as subjects" to His Majesty, they might remain in New Netherland, but that otherwise his interests would not permit them to "usurp and encroach upon" his colonies.

This was notice that at a convenient season—which in time came—the stronger power would oust the weaker. The claim of original discovery, from the dubious voyages of the Cabots, covered a vast deal of ground in England's interest.

And here we may close this period of discovery of the Delaware. We have seen the river in the possession of its native people, and we have seen the east bank occupied by the Dutch pioneers, with an abortive attempt to occupy the west bank. At the end of 1637 practically nothing had been done toward actual settlement and cultivation; the Holland people had come for trade, and that only. A new period of development was at hand.

CHAPTER III

THE SWEDES: THE FIRST SETTLEMENT IN PENNSYLVANIA.—1638-1655

SENDING out her first expedition to the Delaware in 1637, Sweden expressed in it the partial accomplishment of a cherished plan. Since 1624 she had been desirous to secure a trade with the New World, such as Spain had so long possessed, and the Netherlands had lately been acquiring. In the autumn of that year, at Gottenberg, the king, Gustavus Adolphus, gave audience to a somewhat unpractical but very earnest adventurer, William Usselincx, formerly a merchant of the Netherlands, and the man who had been there most active in urging the organization of the Dutch West India Company. The outcome of this interview was the king's approval of a Swedish Company for the same general purpose as the Dutch; a commission issued to Usselincx authorized its organization "for trade to Asia, Africa, America, and Magellanica."

In this scheme, indicative by its swelling phrase of the men who had designed it, the persistent though ruined Antwerper, and the generous, somewhat romantic monarch, lay the germ of the New Sweden of Delaware and Pennsylvania. In 1628 the first formal charter for the "South Company" was granted.

The undertaking, however, dragged. Usselincx wore out his influence in Sweden, as he had done in the Netherlands, by persistent importunity. Sweden was poor; the Thirty Years' War was raging; Swedish sailors and ships were few, and familiar only

with neighboring seas; at the death of Gustavus, in November, 1632, nothing of practical importance had been accomplished. He had indeed heartily approved the plan; if it languished during his absence in the wars it revived when he returned to Stockholm;

Lord Baltimore

Proprietor of Maryland; born about 1582; died 1632. Photographed especially for this work from an old engraving

he hoped to increase the wealth of his country by the profits of exterior commerce, and to train at the same time a body of seamen who might even cope upon the great oceans with those of Spain. It was at Nuremberg, in the last of his conferences with his wise and trusty counsellor, the Chancellor Axel Oxenstiern, that he considered afresh the whole plan, and expressed his approval of a new and enlarged charter, designed to enlist the interest of the North German and other cities. Three weeks later he

fell at Lutzen—at the very time when the ships of DeVries were approaching the Delaware.

Upon Oxenstiern, burdened with all the other difficult affairs of Sweden, devolved the execution of the American scheme. Faithful to the thought of Gustavus in this as in other particulars, he was himself heartily in favor of it. No statesman of his time viewed more sagaciously the problem of Europe's relations with the New World. But the times were unpropitious; he was forced to wait five years, until practicable plans could be matured. Late in the autumn of 1637 two ships at last left Sweden for America. They were under the command of Peter Minuit, he who had been the Dutch company's director at Manhattan from 1626 to 1632. The expedition was bound, not to the Guinea Coast, or fabulous regions in the South Sea, but to the South River. The western side of this river, as Minuit knew, had remained unoccupied by Europeans since the abandonment of the Colony of DeVries at Swanendael, and he undoubtedly knew and appreciated the advantage for the Indian trade of occupancy upon that shore.

The two ships were the *Kalmar Nyckel,* a man of war, and the *Gripen,* a sloop. The crews and cargoes were from Holland; of the three-score persons in the expedition not more than a half-dozen were Swedes. Capital for it had been secured in equal parts from Holland and Sweden. In the latter country Oxenstiern had raised 12,000 florins, and in Holland a group of persons, headed by Minuit and Blommaert, connected with Swedish interests, had provided a corresponding sum. The whole enterprise was therefore a private venture; nothing of the "South Company" of 1626, or the enlarged company of 1633, appeared in it, except that this was at last a resolute effort to express in action something of what had so long been under discussion.

After leaving Gottenburg, baffling winds detained the ships in the North Sea, but about the end of December, after having refitted and obtained more provisions at the Dutch port of Medemblik, they quitted the familiar shores and took the ordinary south-

ern route across the Atlantic. Toward the end of March they had entered the Delaware. Though it was scarcely spring, the river seemed beautiful to men who had left the north of Europe in the depths of winter, and one place at which they briefly landed, perhaps the mouth of Mispillion creek, they called "Paradise Point." Passing on upward, they cast anchor at last where a large stream came in on the left hand—the Minquas-kill of the Dutch. Here the ships lay while Minuit went ashore to confer with the Indians. He knew well, of course, the story of the catastrophe at Swanendael, and realized that above all he must avoid the conditions which had caused it.

The Indian chief whom Minuit now met was Mattahoorn, the same who has been mentioned as joining in the conveyance of the lands on Schuylkill to Corssen, the Dutch agent. Apparently he was the principal sachem of the region. He had his lodge near the Minquas-kill. He claims our remembrance both because he seems to have been a worthy character, and because he is practically the only one of the Lenâpé distinguishable by name before the time of Penn. Other Indians of the Delaware in the early period are a mass, in which none has individuality.

Mattahoorn was probably an elderly man. He was living, however, thirteen years later, for he joined in a Council held at Fort Nassau, in July, 1651, by Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor. It is possible that Minuit, from his acquaintance with the trade on the South River during his administration at Manhattan, may have had some previous knowledge of the chief. There was no difficulty in concluding an agreement. Minuit explained what he wanted—ground on which to build a "house," and other ground on which to plant. For the former he offered "a kettle and other articles," for the latter half the tobacco raised upon it. Mattahoorn seems to have yielded cheerfully, as the Indians generally did until they began to see that land taken by the whites passed from common enjoyment into private and exclusive use. The land for the planting was defined to be, as Mattahoorn afterward

said, that bounded "within six trees"—marked, no doubt, by the surveyor, as "line trees." Thereupon the ships came up the kill, which later became known as the Christina, in honor of the girl queen at Stockholm, and passing on the right hand the mouth of a clear and rapid stream, the Brandywine of our day, reached a natural wharf of rocks and fast land which rose from the lower ground, and formed a landing-place so bold that the ships came alongside in deep water. Here they disembarked all that was intended to remain, and the erection of a place of security, which Minuit named Fort Christina, was quickly begun. The time was the beginning of April; it was alike the season for planting and for trade with the Indians for the skins of animals taken during the winter. As to this, Minuit had carried out his plans effectively.

Reports of the new arrivals on the river quickly reached the Dutch. Fort Nassau was at this time occupied, and the Commissary there sent his assistant, Peter Mey, to observe Minuit's operations. Mey accomplished little. Minuit, according to his report, said he was on a West Indian voyage, and was getting wood and water. Shortly after, when the up-river observers made a second visit, they found the strangers remaining, and that they had made a garden, in which plants were set out; while upon a third visit, they had "made a settlement," and built a fort. These reports, covering little more than a month, show the order and the promptitude of Minuit's proceedings.

There was now a new Director-General at Manhattan, Willem Kieft, successor to Van Twiller. He had reached his seat of government nearly at the time the Swedes came to Minquas-kill, his ship, the *Herring*, an armed vessel belonging to the West India Company, arriving on the 28th of March.[1] Kieft was naturally disturbed over this intrusion. He wrote on the 28th of April to the Company in Holland, reporting the situation. A few days later, probably May 6, he addressed to Minuit a formal

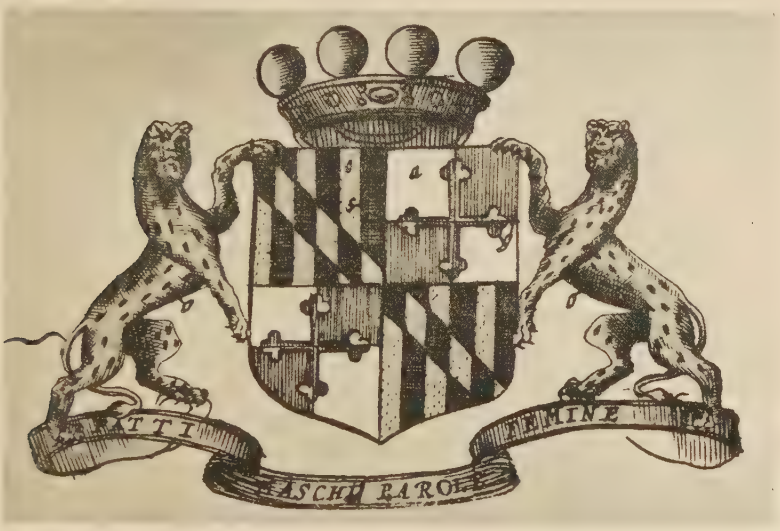
[1]This is the Dutch date, and is "New Style." In the Swedish calendar, it would have been March 18.

protest against his settlement, declaring that both banks of the river belonged to the Dutch. "The whole South River in New Netherland," he declared, "has been many years in our possession, and has been secured by us with forts above and below, and has been sealed with our blood, which has happened even during your direction of New Netherland, and is well known to you."

This claim by the Dutch to the west bank was based, of course, on DeVries's adventure at Swanendael. Minuit apparently made no formal reply, but the practical answer was that the settlement there was wholly abandoned, and that no white man had for over six years been living on the west side of the river. Paying no attention to Kieft, he pushed work on his fort. He knew that his force was equal or superior to any the Dutch could then send from Manhattan, and that besides it was not the present policy of Holland to offend a power like Sweden, whose generals and soldiers were bearing the brunt—as they had done since 1630—of the Protestant cause in the still continuing Thirty Years' War. The fort was regularly laid out by Mans Kling, a Swede and an engineer, who was apparently second in command, and was called Fort Christina. So it continued to be known until Stuyvesant's bloodless siege and capture, seventeen years later.

Minuit proceeded energetically to other work. One or two log-houses were built. The goods for the Indian trade were landed. A store of Indian corn and meat was collected. A second treaty with the Indians for the purchase of land was made, extending down the river and bay, and northward as far as the Falls at Trenton. Posts were set up with the letters declaring the Swedish Queen's sovereignty, "C. R. S." The *Gripen* was sent to Virginia to dispose of her cargo, but being refused permission to do so, returned still laden, though she was allowed to stay ten days to procure wood and water. By midsummer Minuit was ready to return to Europe. On July 31, Kieft wrote to the Company, "He has departed with the two vessels he had with him."

Twenty-four persons in all were left at Christina. They were under the command of Mans Kling, with Hendrik Huyghen as "commissary," to conduct the trade with the Indians. The party thus formed the first permanent settlement by white men on the Delaware bay or river, on either side. It was the beginning of



Calvert Arms

what is now a large and prosperous city, and the kernel as well of a sovereign State.

The labors of Minuit closed here. He had sent the *Gripen* first to the West Indies; he followed himself in the *Kalmar Nyckel.* Reaching St. Kitts, he sold his merchandise, bought tobacco, and was on the eve of sailing for Sweden, when a hurricane burst upon the roadstead and drove all ships out to the open sea. He, as it chanced, had been visiting on board a Dutch vessel, the *Flying Deer,* and this was lost. Neither it nor he was ever seen again. The *Kalmar Nyckel* rode out the storm, and came

back for him, but in vain. Giving him up at last, she was forced to resume her homeward voyage.

New Sweden, at the very outset, thus suffered a hard stroke of fortune. Minuit was a capable leader. He was much the ablest man who had yet been sent to the South River, unless we except DeVries, and as Director-General at Manhattan he had proved himself superior to either Van Twiller or Kieft. He had been born, probably about 1580, at Wesel, on the right bank of the Rhine, and hence was a man nearly sixty years old at his death.

The *Kalmar Nyckel* had a long voyage home. Going first to Holland, she did not reach Gottenburg until June of the following year, 1639, with her tobacco. Meantime the *Gripen* had sold her cargo in the West Indies, had returned to Christina, loaded there the furs which Huyghen had secured, and after a marvellously quick voyage of five weeks had returned to Gottenburg in May.

The Swedish colony on the Delaware, the "New Sweden" to which so many hopes and endeavors had been given, had a lifetime of but seventeen years—1638 to 1655. Yet it was of large importance, because it was the actual and systematic beginning of the life of white people on the west bank of the Delaware. And out of it came the first planting of Pennsylvania. A year before William Penn was born, the Swedes had already begun the settlement of the State which was to bear his name.

We know little with certainty as to the individuals who composed the company of twenty-four whom Minuit left at Christina. Two of them, Mans Kling, the engineer, and Hendrik Huyghen, the commissary, have already been mentioned. Kling became later a familiar figure on the Delaware, and Huyghen we shall meet again. Ten others have been identified who came either with Minuit or two years later, 1640, in the "Second Expedition" from Sweden. We shall speak of six of them here. They demand our attention, because a little later they had their homes up the Delaware from Christina, north of the Pennsylvania line, and hence were among the first white settlers in Pennsylvania.

One of the number was Anders Svensson Bonde. He was born in Sweden in 1620, and so was but eighteen if he came with Minuit, or twenty if he came in 1640. In 1644, the records show, he was at Tinicum, in what is now Delaware county, Pennsylvania, employed in "making hay for the cattle" and in sailing the Governor's "little yacht." In 1648 he was gunner at the fort, New Gottenburg, which Printz built on Tinicum Island, and in 1680 he was living at "Kingsess"—Kingsessing—in what is now West Philadelphia. On the first Tax List of Philadelphia county, 1693, he appears as the richest man west of the Schuylkill. He lived probably until 1696, a widow, Anneka, and six sons and four daughters surviving him. His descendants changed the family name to Boon.

Peter Andersson was engaged similarly with Bonde, in 1644 and 1648. Anders Larsson Daalbo, was in 1644 cultivating tobacco for the Swedish Company, on a plantation "near the Schuylkill." Sven Larsson was engaged in 1644 similarly to Daalbo.

Peter Gunnarsson Rambo was cultivating tobacco for the Company in 1644, in Christina, and came later into Pennsylvania. He held several offices under the Dutch and English governments on the Delaware, and died in Philadelphia county in 1698, being, it is said, the last survivor of those who came in the first two Swedish expeditions, 1638 and 1640. He had four sons and two daughters, all of whom married and left descendants.

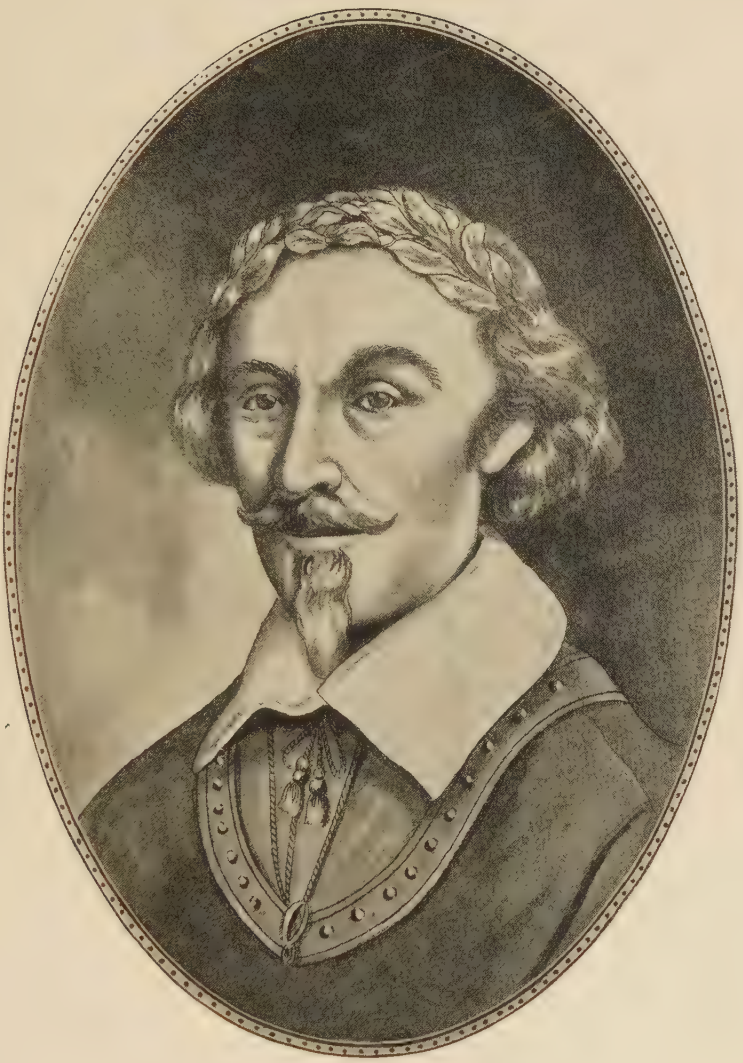
Sven Gunnarsson is a notable figure. He was occupied as Rambo, in 1644, but he and his three sons, known as Swensons, later Swansons, obtained in 1664 from Alexander d'Hinojossa, then the Dutch Governor on the Delaware, a patent for land above Moyamensings-kill, within the present city of Philadelphia—at Wicaco, after called Southwark. These Swansons are well known figures in the early history of Philadelphia. Their cabins were standing at Wicaco when Penn came in 1682, though the father had died a little earlier. He, when he came to the Dela-

ware, in 1638 or 1640, was probably accompanied by his wife, and if so she was the first white woman who came to live permanently on the west side of the Delaware.

The fur trade engaged, of course, the early efforts of the Christina settlers. They planted, the first year, we may be sure, or even the second, very little. By peaceable means they drew the trade of the Indians of the region, and doubtless of those on the Susquehanna. Their Dutch neighbors and competitors at Fort Nassau watched them with increasing dissatisfaction. The reports sent to Manhattan, and thence by Governor Kieft to Holland, tell a doleful story of the early success of the Swedes in capturing the trade. The injury done the first year to the Dutch, Kieft writes in one letter, is thirty thousand florins; in another he flatly says that the Company's trade in South River is "entirely ruined." He charges the Swedes with paying higher prices, with giving presents, and in general with out-doing the traders at Fort Nassau.

Meanwhile the Swedes looked for another ship from home. It was two years before one came. The *Kalmar Nyckel,* after her bad news of Minuit's loss had been digested, had been ordered to return, and Peter Hollender, a lieutenant, a Dutchman, and perhaps a "knight," since he added "Ridder" to his name, was commissioned governor in Minuit's place. But the ship had many detentions, including a leak and a dishonest captain, and it was February of 1640 before she got away, and April 17 of that year before she again sailed into the Christina. How gladly she was greeted may be imagined. She brought, it is believed, the first minister of the gospel on the Delaware, the Rev. Reorus Torkillus, a clergyman of the Swedish Lutheran church.

The rule of Peter Hollender as Governor of the Swedes, and so of all others on the West Bank of the Delaware, extended from April, 1640, to February, 1643, when his successor, John Printz, arrived. The events of this period may be succinctly stated. The *Kalmar Nyckel,* quickly loaded with furs, sailed for home in



David Pietersen DeVries

Leader of a colony of traders and emigrants from Holland, who settled on the Delaware river in 1632

May (1640), and arrived in July. At the beginning of November of the same year there arrived at Christina, from Holland, the ship *Fredenburg*, with a company of Dutch colonists, headed by Jost de Boghardt. They were mostly from Utrecht, and being unable to agree, as it seems, with the Dutch West India Company, had obtained permits and a grant of privileges from the Swedish authorities. They settled south of Christina—at New Castle, as some think, perhaps further down the river, in what are now St. George's and Appoquinimink hundreds.

The English again made their appearance on the river in 1640. This time they came from New England, from the Colony of New Haven. That young town had large ambitions and corresponding energy. One of its citizens, George Lamberton, trading to Virginia in his bark, the *Cock,* in the winter of 1638-39, had learned of the fur-trade of the Delaware, with which nothing at New Haven could compare. It was resolved thereupon to make a settlement on the Delaware, and late in 1640, Captain Nathaniel Turner was sent from New Haven to open the way. He, it is said, and also a little later Captain Lamberton, already named, secured land from the always-obliging Indians, the purchase including much of the east bank of the bay, from Cape May northward, and besides this a tract at Passyunk, within what is now Philadelphia. To occupy the New Jersey purchase a move was promptly made; a colony of some sixty persons left New Haven and settled at Varken's kill, near the present town of Salem, and about the same time, as the English later claimed, "a fortified trading-house was built or occupied at Passyunk." If this latter statement has validity, it would seem that it might be connected with the alleged activities of Captain Thomas Yong and Master Robert Evelin, who professed, as we have seen, to have been building an English fort somewhere on the river, about 1640 or 1641, and perhaps may have been concerned in some work at Passyunk.

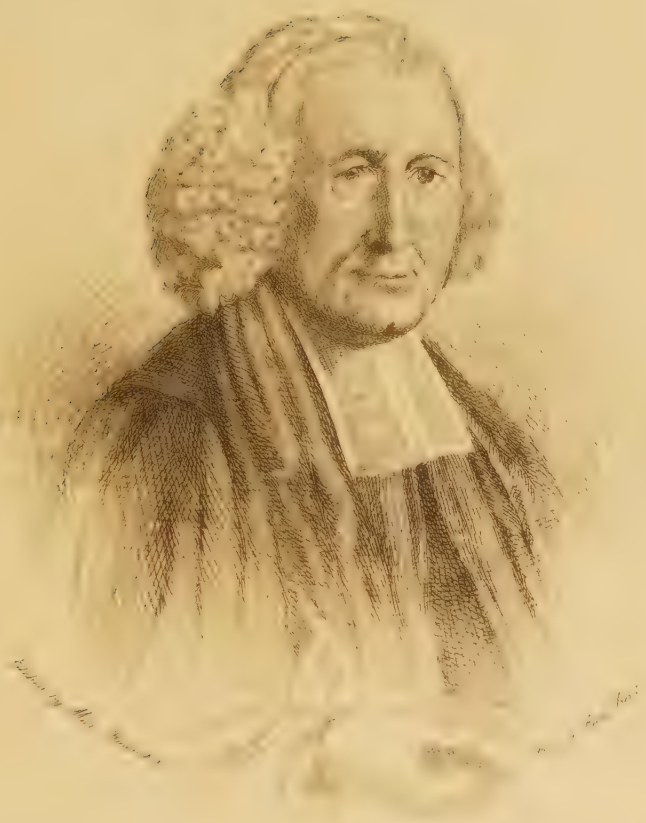
This English enterprise, however, did not seriously disturb either the Dutch or Swedes. It came to an end at Varken's kill

in less than three years, and the Passyunk enterprise also failed. We shall mention these collapses in their proper place.

Hollender wrote to Sweden that his people at Christina were too few, and that they were little skilled in husbandry or handicraft. Indeed his letters to Chancellor Oxenstiern speak of them with painful candor; "no more indifferent people are to be found in all Sweden than those who are now here," he says in one place. Perhaps they thought equally ill of him. We shall see, as we proceed, that governors and people, like schoolmasters and scholars, were apt to see each others' faults very distinctly. An insufficient supply of horses and cattle was one of the troubles at Christina; we are not to forget that whatever domestic animals they had must be brought in ships, either from other American colonies or from Europe.

The "Third Expedition" from Sweden (the *Fredenburg* with her Dutch passengers not being counted), came to the Delaware sometime in 1641. The precise time seems obscure. It consisted of two ships, the *Kalmar Nyckel* once more, and a consort, the *Charitas*. They brought a considerable company of colonists, including numerous Finns. Names of some of these colonists have been preserved. Among them was Lieutenant Mans Kling, who had gone home in 1640, and who was now accompanied by his wife, and their little child, and a maid. Another who came at this time was Olaf Persson Stillé, ancestor of a family of distinction in Pennsylvania, including the late Dr. Charles Janeway Stillé of Philadelphia. He was a settler, soon, at the mouth of Ridley creek, in Delaware county.

The fourth, and the most important, of the several Swedish "expeditions" came in 1643. It may be regarded as expressing the highest endeavor of the Swedes. There were again two ships, the *Fame* and the *Swan*. John Printz, bearing a commission to succeed Hollender, was in command. Leaving Gottenburg on the first day of November, 1642, and taking the usual southern route, they touched at the island of Antigua to celebrate Christmas, came



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into Delaware Bay in a storm the following month, and February 15, 1643, reached Fort Christina.

Printz, it may be here said, is the most conspicuous figure, if we except Minuit, connected with New Sweden. Lively descriptions of him have come down to us, as we shall presently see. He had been an officer, a lieutenant-colonel of a cavalry regiment engaged in the Thirty Years' War, and being charged with making an inadequate defense of the city of Chemnitz—which, however, he declared due to the inhabitants—had been dismissed the service, but afterwards restored. His instructions, now, for the Delaware administration, were elaborate. He was to deal with the English at Varken's Kill, and the Dutch at Fort Nassau peaceably, if possible; to treat the Indians with humanity, protect them, and "civilize" them—especially to sell them goods at lower prices than the English or Dutch. He might choose his residence as he saw proper, at Cape Henlopen, Christina, or "Jacques Island" (Tinicum); but he must particularly see that his fort should command the river, and have a good winter harbor for vessels. The sowing of grain, the planting of tobacco, the increase of cattle, and sheep, the inspection of the fur-trade, the manufacture of salt, the culture of the vine, search for metals and minerals, the fisheries, especially for whales, silk-culture, etc., etc., were among the many matters commended to his attention. "Before all," he was to see that the worship of God was maintained, taking "good measures" that the divine service was "performed according to the true Confession of Augsburg, the council of Upsal, and the ceremonies of the Swedish Church."

How many came with Printz it is impossible now to say. His company included his wife, their daughter, Armgard, and a minister, the Rev. John Campanius. The names of some twenty-three others have been preserved. Some were soldiers, others clerks, mechanics and farm laborers. A large part were from Finland. The opening of spring found Printz busily at work. He lost no time in carrying out his instructions. Proceeding up the river

from Christina, he decided to make the seat of his authority at Jacques Island, the place called by the Indians Tenacong, and since Tinicum. Not, however, on the island in the stream, our "Little Tinicum," but on the larger one which is now practically part of the mainland. Here he built at once a "fort," so called, of "heavy green logs," laid "the one on the other," and mounted on it four brass cannon. This he called Nye (new) Gottenburg. He made thus the first settlement by white men in Pennsylvania. Besides this, he sent Kling to make a settlement on the Schuylkill. "Log houses, strengthened by small stones" were built there, and a tobacco plantation begun. The Dutch, it is said, had broken up, in 1642, the English post there, a force sent across from Fort Nassau under Jan Jansen Van Ilpendam, the Commissary, having ejected the Englishmen. Later, Kling built on the east bank of the Schuylkill, near its mouth, probably on what was afterward called Province Island, a small fort which was called New Korsholm. Of this fort Printz says in his report, sent home in February, 1647, that it "is pretty nearly ready."

These operations of Kling, the plantation and the fort, form the first well-authenticated occupancy of white men of the site of the city of Philadelphia. Their beginnings date certainly from the spring of 1644; probably from 1643.

Printz, however, was not content with the forts already described. A third, called Elfsborg, was built, in 1643, at Varken's kill (Salem) on the east side of the Delaware, near the post which the English colonists from New Haven had established. These adventurers had not prospered. Sickness had sorely beset them. The Dutch harassed them. The fur-trade to be secured in that locality was small. And besides, the mosquitoes tormented them. By the end of 1643, their colony was practically broken up and abandoned. "Slowly, through the winter and spring of 1643-44, the major part of them straggled back to New Haven."

At Tinicum the Swedish settlements now centered. The fort at Christina was small, and its situation gave it no command of

the Delaware. That at Tinicum—New Gottenburg—on the contrary, dominated the river, and nearly destroyed the importance of the Dutch Fort Nassau. In the three or four years following Printz's arrival Tinicum gradually assumed the character of a hamlet. The island was confirmed to him as his personal estate by the Swedish Council at Stockholm, acting in the Queen's name, November 6, 1643, and he built later, probably in 1646, a mansion-house for his own residence, calling the place Printzhof. A church was also built, which Campanius dedicated September 4, 1646. This was the first house of Christian worship within the limits of Pennsylvania. Attached to it was a burial ground, where many of the earlier settlers were interred.

The situation on the Delaware, in the autumn of 1643, is described for us by our old friend DeVries. It had been ten years since he left the river, in the spring of 1633. He had been mainly at Manhattan, meanwhile, and now, being on a trading voyage to Virginia, his ship came up the Delaware. He says in his journal:

"The 13th (October), sailed by Reed Island, and came to the Verckens-kil, where there was a fort constructed by the Swedes, with three angles, from which they fired for us to strike our flag. The skipper asked me if he should strike it. I answered him, 'If I were in a ship belonging to myself, I would not strike because I had been a patroon of New Netherland, and the Swedes were a people who came into our river; but you come here by contrary winds and for the purposes of trade, and it is therefore proper that you should strike.' Then the skipper struck his flag, and there came a small skiff from the Swedish fort, with some Swedes in it, who inquired of the skipper with what he was laden. He told them with Madeira wine. We asked them whether the governor was in the fort. They answered, No; that he was at the third fort up the river, to which we sailed, and arrived at about four o'clock in the afternoon, and went to the governor, who welcomed us. He was named Captain Prins, and a man of brave size, who weighed over four hundred pounds. He asked the skipper if he

had ever been in this river before, who said he had not. How then had he come in when it was so full of shoals? He pointed to me, that I had brought him in. Then the governor's koopman, who knew me, and who had been at Fort Amsterdam, said that I

Augustine Herman

A native of Bohemia; received a grant of 20,000 acres of land at head of Chesapeake bay from Lord Baltimore, in 1660. A surveyor of note. After a painting by West

was a patroon of Swanendael at the entrance of the Bay, destroyed by the Indians in the year 1630, when no Swedes were known upon this river. He (the governor) then had a silver mug brought, with which he treated the skipper with beer, and a large glass of Rhenish wine, which was given to me. The skipper traded some wines and sweetmeats with him for peltries, beaver-skins, and stayed here five days from contrary winds. I went once to Fort Nassau, which lies a mile higher up, in which the

people of the West India Company were. I remained there half a day, and took my leave of them, and returned at evening to the Governor of the Swedes.

"The 19th, I went with the governor to the Minckquas-kil, where their first fort was, and where there were some houses. In this little fort there were some iron guns. I stayed here at night with the governor, who treated me well. In the morning, the ship was lying before the Minckquas-kil. I took my leave of the

Signature of David Lloyd, speaker of the Assembly, 1694

governor, who accompanied me on board. We fired a salute for him, and thus parted from him; weighed anchor, and got under sail, and came to the first fort, which was not entirely finished; it was made after the English plan, with three angles close by the river. There were lying there six or eight brass-pieces, twelve-pounders. The skipper exchanged here some of his wines for beaver skins.

"The 20th of October, took our departure from the last fort, or first in sailing up the river, called Elsenburg. The second fort of the Swedes is named Fort Christina; the third, New Gottenburg."

Printz remained governor of New Sweden for more than ten years. He came, as we have seen, in the spring of 1643; he went back to Sweden in the autumn of 1653. His rule thus covered much more than half of the life of the Swedish colony. The events of his time are of interest to this history, in that they show

the beginnings of Pennsylvania. In this decade the bare shelters of the first comers became tolerable cabins; the slender stock of horses and cattle increased; the crops grew in amount and importance; families became "settled," and began to feel that this was indeed their home. There was thus a slow but definite evolution of permanent occupancy.

Agriculture had been one of Printz's chief objects, as was natural and reasonable. He could hear of no gold or silver mines, nor of salt deposits, and he thought the culture of silk doubtful, but he planted corn extensively, and after a failure the first year did well with it. Tobacco plantations were begun. Hay was cut from the meadow lands. Rye for bread and for seed was procured at Manhattan, in 1643, and a few cattle. In the autumn of that year rye was sown, and next spring barley; the crop grew so well "it was delightful to behold."

The year 1643, however, was on the whole a hard one. The little colony was sorely stricken by disease. No less than nineteen of the male population, a large proportion indeed, died that year. "They had hard work and but little to eat," Printz said. Among the dead was the Rev. Reorus Torkillus, the minister at Christina, who died in February, a few weeks before Printz's arrival. According to Campanius he had married since coming to the Delaware, and left a widow and child.

In March, 1644, the *Fame,* one of the two ships which had come with Printz, arrived a second time. She brought, unfortunately, but few colonists. One of them (he had been here earlier, and now returned) was Johan Papegoia, who soon married the governor's daughter, Armgard. The *Fame* sailed for Sweden in June, taking a cargo of 2,142 beaver skins, and 105 hogsheads of tobacco. Printz sent by her a report of the colony's condition; it had, he said, 90 men, "besides women and children."

Indian troubles threatened this year. The shocking and unpardonable cruelties of Kieft, the governor at Manhattan, in which

hundreds of the natives, up and down the Hudson, and on Long Island, of all ages and both sexes, were slain, disturbed the Indians far and near. All along the Atlantic coast word spread among them of the cruelty of the new-comers. In the spring two white soldiers and a laborer were killed on the Delaware, below Christina, and later a Swedish woman and her husband—he English—were killed between Tinicum and Upland. We may note this latter event as the first white blood shed in Pennsylvania by the Indians. Printz assembled his people for defense at Upland (Chester). The Indian chiefs of the region came in, disowning the act, and desiring peace. The usual treaty was made, presents were distributed, and friendly relations were restored.

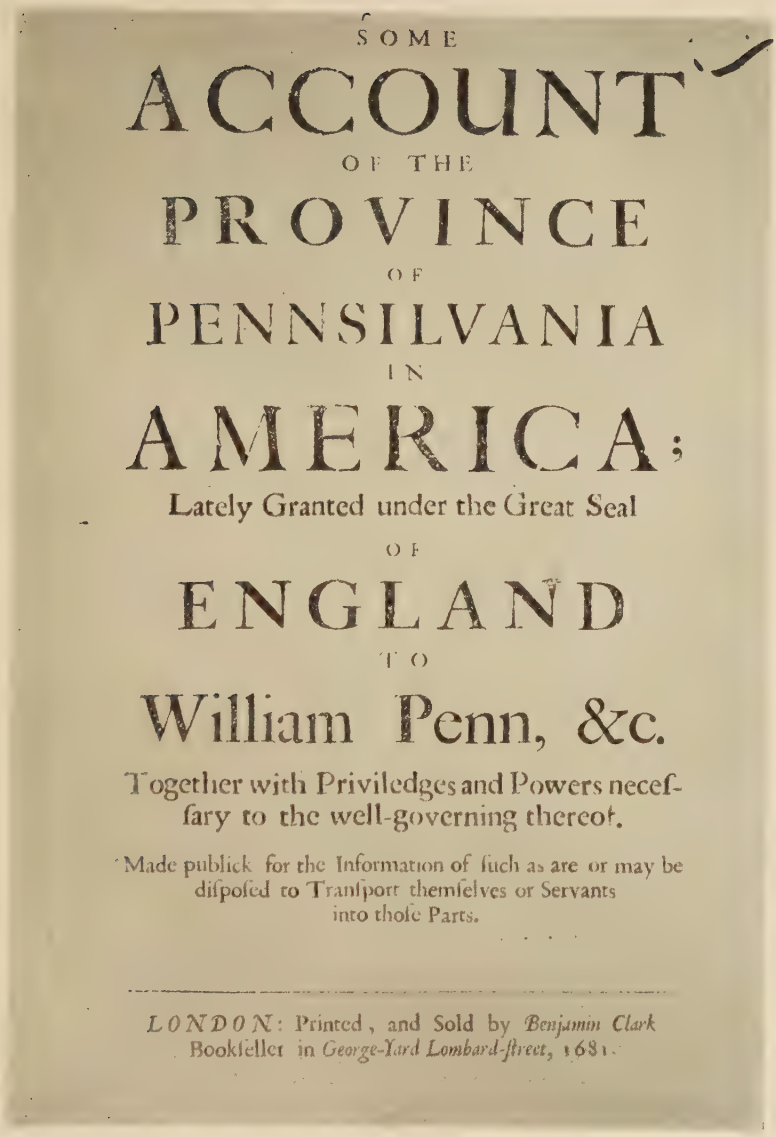
There was now a long period without a ship from Sweden. From the *Fame's* departure, in June, 1644, until October, 1646, none came. It was a trying time. The stock of goods for trade was exhausted, and no beaver or other skins could be secured from the Indians. At the beginning of winter, 1645, a disaster occurred. On the 25th of November, late at night, the fort at Tinicum was set on fire by a soldier, and was totally destroyed. "Not the least thing" was saved, "except the dairy." "The people escaped," Printz wrote, "naked and destitute. The winter immediately set in, bitterly cold; the river and all the creeks froze up," so that no supplies could be had until the middle of March, and Printz adds, "if some rye and corn had not been unthreshed, I myself and all the people with me on the island would have starved to death."

The want of goods for trading not only was unfavorable as to profits for the Swedes; it diminished the respect of the Indians for them. To this period may be assigned the Indian council described by Campanius, in which Mattahoorn presided, and the slaughter of the Swedish settlers was considered. The sachem is said to have presented the question: "The Swedes dwell here upon our land. But they have no goods to sell us. We can find nothing in their stores that we want. They have no cloth, red, blue, or brown. They have no kettles, no brass, no lead, no guns,

no powder. The English and Dutch have all sorts of merchandise. Shall we go out and kill all the Swedes, or shall we allow them to stay?" The decision of the council was that the Swedes should not be molested. They should be, instead, "good friends." One warrior declared, "We have no complaint to make of them. Presently, they will bring here a large ship filled with all sorts of good things."

This expectation was fulfilled when at last, October 1, 1646, the ship *Golden Shark* arrived. She had had a long and stormy voyage, with much sickness on board. She brought few colonists, but her cargo was a good one. No time was lost in notifying the Indians. Huyghen, the commissary, with Van Dyck, a sergeant, and eight soldiers, was dispatched by Printz "to the country of the Minquas." This was "five German miles" distant. "All sorts of presents" were given the Minquas, and a promise secured from them that they would trade "as before," Huyghen additionally assuring them "a higher price than the Hollanders."

The *Golden Shark* needed repairs, and work on her could not be completed until December. Then winter set in suddenly, and she was frozen up. She could not get away until February 20, 1647, when she sailed with a cargo which included 101 casks of tobacco, over a fourth of which had been raised by the Swedes —the remainder secured in trade. Printz sent back by her a long report. Since 1643, he said, the health of the people had been good; "only two men and two small children" had died. "The whole number of men, women, boys, girls, and children now living here is 183 souls." He had built a church at New Gottenburg—that dedicated by Campanius in 1646—"adorning and decorating it according to our Swedish fashion, so far as our limited means and resources would allow." He had also built a storehouse there. To break up the trade of the Dutch west of the Delaware, he had built "a fine house called Wasa," inland from Fort Korsholm, "by the road of the Minquas." It was



SOME

ACCOUNT

OF THE

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OF

PENNSILVANIA

IN

AMERICA;

Lately Granted under the Great Seal

OF

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TO

William Penn, &c.

Together with Priviledges and Powers neceſſary to the well-governing thereof.

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Title page of English book used to influence immigration to Pennsylvania

"so strong that four or five men, well provided with guns, balls and powder," could defend it, and he had settled there "seven freemen, sturdy fellows." A quarter of a mile (Swedish: over one and a half English), beyond Wasa he had built another strong house, and settled five freemen there, calling the place Molndal. Here he had set up a water mill, "which runs the whole year, to the great advantage of the country; particularly as the windmill formerly here, before I came, would not work, and was good for nothing."

These two places are worth particular identification. Wasa is supposed to have been the place known as "Kingsesse" (the township afterward Kingsessing, now in West Philadelphia), on Karakung (Carkoen's), or Cobb's Creek. At Kingsesse, as we shall see, the last sitting of the Duke of York's "Court" occurred, in June, 1681, when the proprietorship of Pennsylvania was surrendered to the representative of William Penn. Molndal is better identified. It was long known as "the Swedes' mill." It stood on Cobb's creek, near the place where the old Darby road crosses the stream. It was the first water-mill erected in Pennsylvania—the first probably in a much wider region.

Some other items in Printz's report may detain us. He says there were two head of cattle here when he came, and that he brought three with him; these had increased to ten, and fourteen oxen and a cow had been purchased. And as "the freemen" needed more cattle for cultivating the land, he intended in May to buy some in Virginia. Mechanics of various sorts were needed, but above all "a good number of unmarried women for our unmarried freemen and others." The Magister, Campanius, wished to return home; at least two clergymen should be sent out. The goods needed for trade, both with the Indians and the other colonies, he enumerated: "clothing, shoes, linen cloth, thread, silk, fine and coarse cloth, divers drugs and colors for dyeing, buttons, Dutch ribbons, hats, belts, swords, tanned leather, etc." Such goods "are very vendible here and in Virginia and New

England," he said, "and can be sold at a profit of one hundred per cent." A trusty man should be appointed to procure "zewandt" in New England, for this was the Indians' money, and trade could not be carried on without it.

While Printz had been managing affairs for the Swedes fairly well, the situation at Manhattan had gone from bad to worse.

Original Seal of Chester County

Kieft's abominable wars with the Indians had continued until the Dutch were exhausted. "During five years"—to the summer of 1645—"New Netherland had known hardly five months of peace. Manhattan was nearly depopulated. In two years sixteen hundred savages had been killed; at Manhattan, and in its neighborhood, scarcely one hundred men, besides traders, could be found." Money there was none; the new church stood unfinished; church, school, and poor funds had been used for the war. All this was the result of Kieft's policy of "extermination," which DeVries had in vain protested against as both cruel and fatuous. It followed, of course, that the Dutch hold on the

Delaware, never firm from the beginning, should be even more feeble during these evil years at Manhattan.

But in the autumn of 1645, the Indian troubles being composed, Kieft had sent over to Fort Nassau a new Commissary, Andreas Hudde, a more energetic and apparently a more honest man than his predecessor, Jan Jansen. The pressure of Dutch competition for the trade with the Indians west of the river began to be felt again. In June, 1646, a sloop came from Manhattan with goods, and Hudde sent her into the Schuylkill, "to wait for the Minquas." The Swedes, however, promptly ordered her to leave, and her captain, Juriaen Blancke, fearing the loss of vessel and cargo, departed. In September, Kieft ordered Hudde to get an Indian title to land on the west bank. This he proceeded to do, and set up there the "arms" of the Dutch West India Company, whereupon Huyghen, for the Swedes, took them down.

Still another change in the Dutch administration affected the face of affairs on the Delaware. The *Golden Shark,* with Printz's report of February, 1647, had little more than reached Sweden, when there arrived a new Dutch Governor, in succession to Kieft. This was Peter Stuyvesant. He reached Manhattan May 11, 1647. It was to be his work to receive the submission of New Sweden, and to make the surrender of New Netherland.

We shall hasten, now, with the events on the Delaware. A ship from Sweden, the *Swan,* came out in September, 1647. Papegoia, who had gone back on the *Golden Shark,* returned to Tinicum in her. He brought to Printz an order to remain as governor, instead of the release he had asked. New grants of land were made him—one of them, known as Printzdorp, on the Delaware, south of Upland. The ship brought few colonists; only one, the Rev. Lars Carlsson Lock, is known to us. The *Swan* sailed for Stockholm in May (16th), 1648, and Magister Campanius, who had now spent more than five years at Tinicum, went in her.

Feeling that the key to the Indian trade was on the Schuylkill, Printz prepared in the winter of 1647-8 to place more buildings there, but Hudde, forestalling him, erected on the east bank of that stream, at Passyunk, not far from the supposed site of the Swedes' Korsholm, a strong place which he called Fort Beversrede. Thereupon, Kling, for the Swedes, "opposed the work," and cut down the trees about the new fort. Stuyvesant now sent agents from Manhattan to buy the land of the Indians once more. They held a council with Mattahoorn and other chiefs at Passyunk, who "confirmed" the alleged sale of the lands there to Arendt Corssen, in 1633. Printz paid no regard to this; houses which two Dutchmen had begun to build on the tract were torn down, by his order, and in September (1648), he had a house built so close to Fort Beversrede, on the river side, as to render it practically useless for Indian trading.

Printz was thus "locking horns" with Stuyvesant. The struggle was unequal. The Swedish colony, though it had prospered, had grown but slowly. The colony at Manhattan, relieved from the strain of war, had begun to increase rapidly. In Europe the Thirty Years' war was over, and Holland's concern for the friendship of Sweden was abated. The imperious Stuyvesant was soon to make his power felt on the Delaware.

And at this juncture a dire misfortune befel the Swedes. To their earnest petition for more colonists, more arms, more supplies of a substantial kind, the government at Stockholm had at last endeavored to make an energetic response. A ship, the *Cat*, was fitted out; she took on board a commander, Hans Amundson Besk, with his wife and five children; sixty-three other immigrants, including a clergyman, a clerk, a "barber-surgeon," and some mechanics and soldiers; her cargo included eighteen cannon, of various sizes, and other weapons, and abundant ammunition, with rigging for a new ship intended to be built on the Delaware. It was the "eighth" of the Swedish "expeditions," one of the most important, and alas, the most disastrous! Its calami-

Penn's Treaty with the Indians

After a painting by West

ties made the fall of New Sweden sure; its safe arrival at Tinicum might have averted that event.

In brief, the *Cat,* sailing from Gottenburg on the 3d of July (1649), was wrecked on an island near Porto Rico, on the 26th of August. The Spaniards pillaged the ship, and took the people to Porto Rico. A few remained there permanently; others got back, in one way and another, to Sweden; eighteen, still hoping to reach the Delaware, secured at length a small vessel, and venturously sailed from Porto Rico in May, 1651, but were captured by a hostile ship, and taken to the island of Santa Cruz, where all died but five. The commander, Amundson, with his family, being sent by the Governor of Porto Rico to Spain, got back at last to Sweden, to relate the dismal tale.

Printz had been looking for a ship, when word of this disaster reached him. There had been no arrival since the *Swan* departed in May, 1648. It was now midsummer, 1650. The bad news came to Manhattan; Governor Stuyvesant wrote of it to Hudde, at Fort Nassau, sending the letter by Augustine Herman, who was coming to the Delaware, and who, as a famous figure later in the history of Maryland, lord of "Bohemia Manor" on Chesapeake bay, is entitled to this special mention. Printz wrote at once to Sweden, sending his letter by a Dutch vessel. He spoke sadly of the loss of the *Cat.* Most of the settlers, he said, were "alive and well." They were generally supplied with oxen and cattle; the crops this year, 1650, had been very good, and the free farmers would have a hundred tons of grain to sell. His successor, whom he begged should be sent, would find things in good order. He had held "the best places," in spite of all opposition, though he had lost the Indian trade for want of goods.

Fresh collisions of Dutch and Swedes at Fort Beversrede brought matters to a crisis in the spring of 1651. In May, Stuyvesant sent from Manhattan an armed ship, which anchored in the Delaware below Christina. Printz finally drove her away—according to the Swedish account—but her captain's report to

Manhattan brought Stuyvesant himself, overland, with a considerable suite, and a number of soldiers. An Indian council was held at Fort Nassau, and lands were once more obligingly sold by the sachems to the Dutch. (It was here that Mattahoorn explained the sale he had made at Christina to Minuit in 1638.) Stuyvesant summoned Printz to show by what authority he claimed the position he held on the river, and the latter made the best reply he could, saying, *inter alia,* that the official documents were at Stockholm.

Stuyvesant then took a bold step. Abandoning Fort Nassau, as "too far up and too far out of the way," he built a new fort, on the west side, at "Sand Hook," now New Castle, Delaware, which he called Fort Casimir, and made it the seat of the Dutch on the river. The Swedish fort at Christina was thus in turn rendered practically useless. Printz protested, but his forces were inferior. According to the Swedish reports, which appear exaggerated, Stuyvesant had eleven ships to support him, four of them "well furnished" for fight. It is certain that the cost of this expedition and the erection of Fort Casimir was severely felt at Manhattan, and the treasury there was drained by it.

The situation was now strained, indeed, with both Dutch and Swedes struggling on the west bank of the river; rival posts on the Schuylkill, and hostile forts at Christina and Casimir. The appearance of peaceful relations, however, was maintained; Stuyvesant returned to Manhattan after interviews with Printz, in which they promised mutually to "keep neighborly friendship," etc. Printz wrote at once to Sweden, describing the events of the summer. He had again held conferences with the Indians, and had rebought lands on both sides of the river. He had abandoned the fort at Varken's Kill, Elfsborg, and maintained now only New Gottenburg, Korsholm, and Christina; these he had strengthened and repaired. The harvests had again been good, there were "delicious crops of several kinds of fruit;" the great needs were more people, "both soldiers and farmers," and these,

he added, "the country is now amply able to sustain." His letter to Oxenstiern, August 1 (1651), is pathetic. "I have frequently," he says, "according to my duty, in the most humble way, reported to your Excellency whatever here occurred, asking for more people and means of defense; but, during the whole space of six years and three months, I have received no orders and not the first matter of assistance from the old country. Every day yet I am with great anxiety expecting it; for myself, too, I beg of your Grace to be released. God knows what I have suffered these three long years."

Efforts were made in Sweden to send another ship. The *Swan* was selected, but did not get off. Printz and his people still waited. It had now been—in the summer of 1652—over four years since the *Swan* went away. Not even a letter or message had come to them from Sweden. The colonists began to think they had been abandoned by the mother country, and some deserted. This year excessive rains spoiled the crops. Still Printz kept up a bold front; he had built the hull of a ship of about two hundred tons, and hoped for sails, rigging, and guns from home. In April, 1653, he again wrote. There were then "living and remaining" in New Sweden, he said, "altogether two hundred souls." Soldiers and others were discouraged; they had but "mean subsistence;" and they sought a chance "every day" to get away. It was now, he said, "five years and a half since a letter was received from home." He could not trade with the Indians, since he had no goods; besides, the Indians on the Susquehanna (the "Minquas") were at war. In the summer he sent his son Gustaf, a lieutenant, to Sweden to report, and finally in the fall, no ship and no letter having come, he resolved to go himself. The announcement of his purpose caused dismay; he assured the people, however, that he would either return within ten months, or would send a ship. He appointed Papegoia, his son-in-law, deputy governor, and with his wife, the commissary Huyghen, and some others, he left at the beginning of October, 1653, in a Dutch

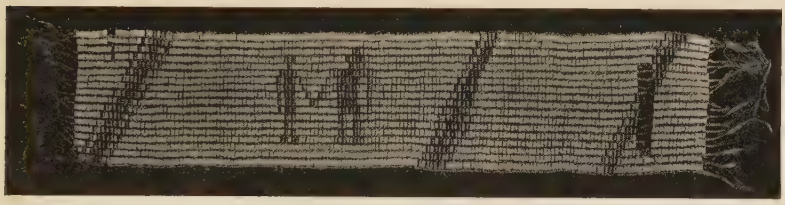
ship. England and Holland were then at war; it was the time of terrific naval battles in the narrow seas between the two countries; so the ship put in at Rochelle, in France, and the Swedish passengers landed there. Getting to Holland after a long delay, it was not until 1654 that Printz reached Stockholm.

Meanwhile the affairs of the colony had been once more earnestly discussed in the Swedish Council. The Queen, Christina, disliked affairs of state—she was a strange child of her great father—and the faithful pilot of Sweden, Oxenstiern, was near his end. But a fresh effort was resolved upon. Different ships were designated for the expedition, and there were delays and false starts, but at last on the 2d of February, 1654, the *Eagle* left Gottenburg for the Delaware. She had, it is said, no less than three hundred and fifty emigrants on board. It was the "Ninth Expedition."

In command of the company was Johan Claesson Risingh. He had been commissioned Commissary and Assistant Councillor to Governor Printz. No one in Stockholm yet knew that Printz was on his way home, and had landed two months before on the coast of France. Besides Risingh others of distinction were on the ship—Sven Schute, captain of the soldiers; an engineer, Peter Lindstrom, well known in our Delaware river history by his maps and plans; and two Lutheran clergymen, the Rev. Petrus Hjort, and Matthias Nertunius; the last named had been one of the distressed company on the unfortunate *Cat*.

The *Eagle* had an adventurous voyage. Danger seemed to be in the air. Half the emigrants were sick. The ship was dismantled by a hurricane. She narrowly escaped capture by Turkish corsairs. But the 18th of May (1654), she came inside the Delaware capes, and the hearts of the adventurers rose out of discouragement. They passed by ruined Elfsborg, and on the 21st cast anchor off Fort Casimir. This was held by a Dutch Commissary, Gerrit Bikker. He had twelve men. The Swedish ship had been seen coming up the river, and a boat sent down to

reconnoitre returned with word that it "was full of people, with a new governor," and that they wanted possession of the fort, since it stood on Swedish land. The Dutch residents demanded that Bikker make defense; that commandant, in despair, asked, "What can I do? I have no powder!" An hour later, Schute and twenty or thirty of his soldiers landed, and Bikker went to meet them on the beach. The fort gate was open; the Swedes marched in. Fort Casimir was captured!



Belt of Wampum

Given to William Penn by the Leni Lenape Sachems at the Elm Tree Treaty at Shackamaxon in 1682. Photographed especially for this work by J. F. Sachse from the original in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania

Risingh's written orders at Stockholm had been to secure possession of Casimir, if possible, by peaceable means. But he is said to have had other unwritten instructions, not to miss a good chance to seize it. He acted here on the verbal, not the written, orders. If peace had not just then been made (April, 1654) between England and Holland, so that a threatened invasion of New Netherland by men from New England was averted; and if the Dutch governor at Manhattan had been Van Twiller or Kieft, instead of the choleric, energetic Stuyvesant, the course taken by Risingh would probably have been justified by the event, but as it was, he could hardly have acted more imprudently.

Sven Schute was placed in command of the fort; its name was changed from Casimir to Trinity, for it was on the Trinity Sunday of the Lutheran calendar that the capture had been made. Of

the dozen Dutch soldiers most were sent to Manhattan, and others, including Bikker, took the oath of allegiance to the Swedish queen. Risingh, in the *Eagle,* sailed on up the river, landed at Tinicum, and relieving the discouraged Papegoia, assumed the position of governor of New Sweden. Things were at a low ebb. After Printz's departure many of the Company's people had deserted. Only seventy colonists, according to Risingh, remained. With those who came on the *Eagle,* and the Dutch settlers who took the oath to Sweden, there were now 368. The fort at Korsholm, abandoned after Printz left, had been burned by the Indians.

Risingh now entered on a career of government which lasted sixteen months. He wrote to Stuyvesant at Manhattan, announcing and justifying his action. He convoked at Tinicum the Dutch and other settlers to take the oath of allegiance. He called the Indians together, also, in a council at Printz Hall, the chiefs, headed by Naaman, a sachem whose name is preserved in Naaman's Creek, near the circular boundary of Delaware, once more renewed the league of friendship.

He announced new regulations concerning "the people, land, agriculture, woods, and cattle." He invited back those Swedes who had gone to Virginia. A little town outside the fort at Christina was laid out by Lindstrom. The Trinity fort was reconstructed by Captain Schute, and four fourteen-pound cannon were taken from the *Eagle* to be placed upon it. The ship herself sailed homeward in July, with a partial cargo of tobacco.

But no energy of Risingh could permanently avail. A new disaster now befell. Another ship had been dispatched from Stockholm a few weeks after the *Eagle.* It was the *Golden Shark,* which had come out before in 1646. She left Gottenburg in April (1654), and touching at Porto Rico to give opportunity to her commissary, Elswick, for urging a claim on the Spanish governor for damages in the case of the *Cat,* reached the American coast in September, and then was steered, by design or stupid-

ity, into New York harbor, instead of Delaware Bay. As she came up to Manhattan, Stuyvesant's eye must have shone with pleasure at sight of her flag. Here was his chance for reprisal! He seized her, of course, as offset to the capture of Fort Casimir, and as Risingh refused to come to Manhattan to treat for the restoration of the fort, he confiscated the ship as well as her cargo. Most of those who had come in her remained at New Netherland; the commissary, Elswick, at last reached the Delaware in November.

The Dutch West India Company had now sent orders to Stuyvesant to proceed to retake Fort Casimir. Hearing of his seizure of the *Golden Shark,* they wrote approving that, and notifying him that they would soon dispatch "one of the largest and best ships" of Amsterdam, carrying thirty-six guns and two hundred men, on whose arrival he was to proceed to the South river, in an energetic campaign against the Swedes. The ship, *De Waag* (The Scales), reached Manhattan early in August, 1655, commanded by "the valiant Frederick de Koninck." Stuyvesant was ill, but his subordinates pushed forward preparations for the expedition. August 25 was set apart as a day of fasting and prayer, to implore the Divine blessing upon it. Volunteers were called for, "at reasonable wages," with assurance that if wounded they should have "due compensation." Pilots were engaged, supplies of ammunition and provisions laid in, and three small ships were chartered. A French privateer happened to come into port, and she also was prevailed upon to join. The Jews of the town, declared exempt from military service, were mulcted in a stiff tax in lieu of it.

On the first Sunday in September,[1] "after the sermon" in the Dutch church at Manhattan, the expedition set sail. It was an imposing armada—seven ships, great and small, with "six to seven

[1]This was the new, the Gregorian calendar, which the Dutch had adopted in 1582. The Swedes adhered to the old, the Julian, calendar, until 1753. By this, the Dutch expedition left Manhattan August 28.

hundred men," according to Risingh's report, or according to a Dutch authority, "three hundred and seventeen soldiers, and a company of sailors," which appears somewhat more probable. The next day they entered the Delaware, and on the following day they cast anchor before old Fort Elfsborg. Here the force was landed and reviewed, and "divided regularly into five sections, each under its own colors." The next day, the 31st of August, (O. S.) they proceeded up the river, and "about eight or nine o'clock" in the morning sailed past Fort Casimir. Schute's guns were silent. The ships went a little farther up, near the mouth of the Christina, and the troops were landed. They thus easily took position between the two forts, Christina and Casimir, cutting off their communications, and menacing the latter in the rear.

Risingh received word of the intended invasion, through the Indians, and by spies. He had strengthened Fort Casimir (or Trinity, as renamed), making the garrison forty-seven in number, and had ordered Commissary Schute to challenge the Dutch ships when they appeared, and to prevent their passage if possible. But the imposing array apparently paralyzed the commissary. So far as appears, he did nothing. The Dutch commander sent an officer, with a drummer, to demand his surrender. Schute asked time to communicate with Risingh at Christina, which was refused. Further parley followed, the Dutch closing in; a second and a third demand for surrender were made; finally, Schute begged for delay until the next morning, which was granted; and then about noon (September 1, O. S.), a "capitulation" was signed on the Dutch warship. The guns of the fort, nine altogether, were to be reserved for the Swedish "crown," and removed when convenient, and similarly "the guns and muskets belonging to the crown." The Swedes were to march out, twelve fully equipped, the remainder with their side-arms. Stuyvesant proclaimed that Swedes who would take the oath of allegiance to him might remain unmolested, and twenty did so. In a letter dated at Fort Casimir on the 12th September (September 2, O. S.), the

Dutch commander reported to his council at Manhattan his complete success so far.

The surrender, Risingh's report says, was unknown to him until next day. His situation at Christina had become practically untenable. He had placed some of his best men in the captured fort, and an additional party, sent the day of the surrender, had been made prisoners on the way. He prepared, however, for resistance. "We collected," he says, "all the people for the defense of fort Christina, and labored with all our might by night and by day in strengthening the ramparts and filling gabions." September 2 (12th, N. S.), the Dutch appeared on the opposite side of Christina creek, and the siege began—the famous and bloodless siege which Washington Irving found so attractive and made so diverting a theme in his "Knickerbocker" history. There was, however, nothing humorous in the situation, to either of the chief combatants. The Dutch commander was in dead earnest; to Risingh the tragedy of the fall of New Sweden, now plainly impending, was all too real.

The siege need not be here described in detail. It lasted two weeks. On the 6th (16th, N. S.), of September, Stuyvesant sent a letter, "claiming the whole river." Risingh replied next day with a letter asserting the rights of the Swedes on the Delaware, and protesting against the Dutch invasion. Stuyvesant renewed his demand, and Risingh next urged that the boundaries between the Swedish and the Dutch colonies be settled by the governments at home, or by commissioners to be agreed upon. Nothing but delay resulted from their correspondence. Stuyvesant was sure of capturing the place, and was satisfied to wait; it would have been folly in Risingh, with his thirty men, some of them, he said, "ill affected," to have begun a fight. It resulted that in the two weeks no one on either side was killed, and no one was wounded. September 15 (25th, N. S.), Risingh surrendered. A formal "capitulation" was drawn up and signed by the two commanders on the "parade ground" outside the Fort.

The agreement resembled that made at Fort Casimir. The soldiers were to march out with the honors of war. The "guns, ammunition, implements, victuals, and other effects belonging to the crown of Sweden, and the South Company," in the fort or its vicinity, were to remain their property. The Swedish settlers might stay or go, as they chose, and for a year and six weeks, if they stayed, need not take the Dutch oath of allegiance. Swedes who remained should enjoy the Lutheran faith ("liberty of the Augsburg confession") and have a minister to instruct them. Risingh and the commissary, Elswick, were to be taken to Manhattan, and thence provided with a passage to Europe.

Stuyvesant, as this was concluded, had alarming news from Manhattan. After ten years of comparative peace, the Indians of the lower Hudson had risen again. Injuries done them had caused an outbreak, and the time had been seized when the Dutch fighting men were mostly away. Probably for this reason—if the story is true—Stuyvesant is said to have offered, after the capitulation, to restore Christina to the Swedes, "on honorable and reasonable terms," but this Risingh declined, preferring to abide by the "capitulation" made, and to trust to the adjustment which might come when the subject was taken up by the government at Stockholm against that at The Hague. Risingh then held a court-martial on Commissary Schute for his surrender of the fort—with what result is unknown—and presently, with others of the Swedish officials, proceeded to Manhattan on the warship, *The Scales*. From there they sailed—Risingh, Lindstrom the engineer, Elswick the commissary, and the two clergymen, Hjort and Nertunius—on Dutch merchant vessels early in November, and were landed in Plymouth, England, where a report of the Dutch conquest was made to Leydenberg, the Swedish ambassador to England. It may here be added that Sweden presently made claims upon Holland for her act in the overthrow of the colony, and might have pressed them with effect had not the king, Charles X., who had succeeded in 1654, on the abdica-

tion of Queen Christina, been absorbed during the next four years in wars with the Poles and the Danes. When he suddenly died in 1660, his son Charles XI. was a minor, and affairs were confused. Nothing but diplomatic claims and counter-claims had resulted up to 1664, when the whole of New Netherland was seized by the English. Then the claims of Sweden and Holland on the Delaware were substantially alike; both nations had lost their colonies; neither was likely to obtain much satisfaction from the other. The controversy thus faded away.

We must pause a moment to relate that one more Swedish "expedition," the "tenth" and last, had been sent out, which arrived after the surrender. This was the ship *Mercury*. She was in charge of the old commissary, Hendrick Huyghen, whom we first saw at Christina in 1638; and had on board also Johan Papegoia, who had been home to Sweden; a minister, Herr Matthias, and emigrants, making a party of eighty-four in all. Her cargo was chiefly linen and woolen goods and salt. She left Gottenburg in October, 1655, a few weeks after the fall of New Sweden, the event being unknown there, of course, and reached the Delaware in March, 1656. The situation being learned, she was taken to Manhattan by order of Huyghen, and her cargo sold; she reached Gottenburg again in September, 1656.

Though the war between Stuyvesant and Risingh was bloodless, it was not, according to the Swedish accounts, without some elements of rapine and destruction. Much injury was done the settlers, they declare, by the men from Manhattan. The fort on Tinicum Island was said to have been destroyed by them, but remains of it were visible long after. The wife of Papegoia, Armgard, the daughter of Printz, had her home on the island, at Printzhof, and in his report Risingh says the Dutch robbed her, during the siege of Christina, "of all she had, with many others who had their property there."

The Swedish colony, as a possession of Sweden, thus failed. In its hopeful inception, its unanticipated difficulties, its trials and

struggles, its drain upon the mother country, and its ultimate catastrophe, it was an example of many such colonial undertakings. Most of them, the world over, have been a loss to those who directed them. The policy of the home government, though it seemed at times slack, was in the main consistent and persevering. The long intervals during which the colonists waited for a ship, or even a letter, were times in which the Swedish statesmen were engrossed in affairs more immediately pressing. To do her best, Sweden could have done little more. In the seventeen years she had accomplished this: she had actually planted a colony. The Swedes were settled upon the soil, and here they remained. The Dutch episode, of which we must next speak, did not displace them. William Penn found them here, doing well, and welcoming him heartily, when he came, twenty-seven years after Risingh's surrender.

One of the most notable features of the Swedish chapter is that there were no wars with the Indians. The settlers lived amicably not only with their near neighbors, the Lenâpé, but with the more dangerous Susquehannocks. Whatever tedious sifting may be given to the long story of the so-called purchases of Indian title to the land, on both banks of the river, by the Dutch, the Swedes, and the English, down to 1655, the result of it all will be inconclusive as to the right acquired under any of them to an exclusive possession of the soil, but in the case of the Swedes one fact will plainly appear—the preservation of friendly relations with the natives. This was the consistent and patiently-pursued policy of the Swedes, and it was made completely successful. Contrasted with the bloody chapter of the lower Hudson, in Kieft's time, and even in Stuyvesant's, it makes a white page.

The Treaty Elm

Shackamaxon, Philadelphia, site of Penn's Treaty with the Indians, 1683. From the Birch views

CHAPTER IV

THE DUTCH SETTLEMENT.—1655-1664

THE overthrow of the Swedish authority on the Delaware was complete and final. For a period of nine years the white settlements on the river, on both sides, remained wholly under control of the Dutch. Ships from Sweden, with letters of instruction prepared at Stockholm, were no longer watched for at Tinicum; the immediate seat of authority was at Manhattan, and the more distant one at Amsterdam and The Hague. The great man to whom all looked was the wooden-legged Director-General of New Netherland, whose energy and capacity had been so signally shown in his prompt conquest of New Sweden.

As for the Swedes they submitted—if not cheerfully, then perforce. Politically, their connection with their mother country was ended, but as we shall see, the old ties of religion and language were long cherished, and testimony to them appeared a few years later in the chain of churches on the Delaware which perpetuated the Lutheran faith and practice as ordained in Sweden.

Under the Dutch rule the settlements on the west bank of the river became more definitely segregated. The Swedes lived together, mostly north of Christina. The Dutch gathered about Fort Casimir, where a little hamlet sprang up, which became known as New Amstel—the New Castle of the English, and of our day. At New Amstel authority centered. Christina, re-

named Altona (or Altena), was eclipsed, and Tinicum ceased to have importance except as the residence of Madam Papegoia and the location of a church. The log forts at both places rotted down, and were not rebuilt.

From Christina, after receiving Risingh's surrender, Stuyvesant hastened back to Manhattan, to array the colonists there against the Indians. He left Ensign Dirck Smith in temporary command at Fort Casimir, but sent over in a few weeks John Paul Jacquet to be Vice-Director and administrator of the Dutch authority on the Delaware. Full instructions were given him—among other things to confine the trading on the river to Fort Casimir, where it could be guarded and controlled; to prevent the sale of rum to the Indians; to keep a watchful eye on the Swedes, and send away any who might be disaffected; and to maintain and protect the Reformed religion, according to "the word of God, and the Synod of Dordrecht."

Jacquet had been in the service of the Dutch East India Company in Brazil. Coming now to Fort Casimir, he found but a feeble settlement there, a dozen families or so, and the fort itself fallen into decay. It needed renewing, he reported, "from the bottom," to be of any use against an enemy. Fortunately none was in sight. Some of the Indian sachems came to ask better prices for furs, and to suggest that this was a proper time to make them presents, but they made no threats and gave no trouble. As for presents, Jacquet thought it worth while to raise a subscription to secure them, and one hundred and eighty-nine guilders were contributed, all the settlers "cheerfully" joining but two.

Jacquet, however, had scarcely been settled at New Amstel when an important change occurred. The West India Company had been obliged to borrow money, and one of its chief creditors was the City of Amsterdam, which had especially advanced funds to fit out Stuyvesant's armada of conquest the preceding year. The Company therefore arranged (July, 1656) to sell to the City of Amsterdam all its claims to territory on the

west side of the Delaware, from the south side of Christina kill to the place now known as Bombay Hook. The sale being completed, the City appointed its own Governor, Jacob Alrich, and dispatched him with three ships and a company of colonists. The largest of the three, the *Printz Maurits,* in which Alrich sailed with many of the colonists, was wrecked (March, 1657) on the coast of Long Island, and though those on board escaped with their lives, it was not without suffering and loss. At the outset the Amsterdam enterprise was thus dampened.

With one hundred and eighty "souls," sixty being soldiers, Alrich reached New Amstel at the end of April, 1657, and entered upon his duties, displacing Jacquet. His authority covered nominally only the territory from Christina to Bombay Hook, the remainder being still the West India Company's colony, but practically, for a time, he was the chief official on the Delaware, subject only to Stuyvesant at Manhattan.

He was not long in finding out the difficulties of his position. The fort, Casimir, had continued to decay, until at last no visitor, especially one who might sometime be an enemy, was allowed to go about it to detect its weakness. The Dutch colonists had made little progress in agriculture, and their crops were small. It happened now that in two seasons there were alternations of severe drought and excessive rain. In the summer and autumn of 1658 a general sickness, an "ardent fever," prevailed. The "barber-surgeon" died, and also Christian Barents, who had come to erect a much-needed mill to grind meal. "In great distress for bread and corn" the colony was, Alrich wrote to Stuyvesant. In the midst of these troubles, a ship arrived from Holland, bringing no supplies but a hundred people, many of them sick; ten or eleven had died during the long voyage, and three more succumbed after arrival.

Stuyvesant came himself, in May, 1658, to inspect the situation on the Delaware, especially to investigate charges of smuggling, and complaints of various sorts. At Tinicum he con-

ferred with the head men of the Swedes—their sheriff, Van Dyck; their magistrates, Olaf Stille, Mathys Hanson, Pieter Rambo, and Peter Cock; the captain, Sven Schute, and others. These took the oath of allegiance to the Dutch authority, and preferred a number of requests, most of which Stuyvesant granted. A further petition that if war should occur between Sweden and the Dutch Republic, they might remain neutral, and not be obliged to serve against their mother country, he acceded to, likewise.

As already said, the Dutch settlers had made slow progress in agriculture. The winter of 1658-9 set in early, and continued long, causing "great distress." The excessive rains in the autumn "prevented the collection of fodder for the creatures," and the prevalent fever "curbed us down," says Alrich's letter to Stuyvesant, "so that all the labor in the field was abandoned." "From the first," he adds, "of the few Netherland settlers who actually lived here at our arrival, scarce one has obtained during our residence one schepel of grain. . . The time the first year, of those who came with us, was spent in building houses and making gardens. . . The summer passed without having thrown much seed into the ground."[1] Just before the winter began, the colony's "galiot" was sent to Manhattan for food, but was frozen in there, and, to crown all misfortunes, a yacht that had been dispatched by Stuyvesant, laden with "pork, beef, maize, etc.," had a treacherous skipper, who ran away with the ship on a voyage of privateering. Altogether, "a large number of men, and not a small number of cattle" died. "We will devoutly pray our Lord," writes Alrich, "and hope that our sins may cease, and then the chastisements may also diminish."

With Alrich there had arrived, in April, 1657, as a member of the colony, one who deserves special mention, as the first schoolmaster on the Delaware. This was Evart Pietersen. Our

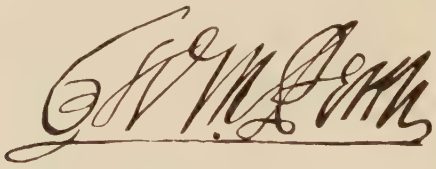
[1] "Not yet being able to go to Virginia or to the North," he adds, "our granary, and larder, and trust has been only at the Manhattans."

knowledge of him is scanty, but he was sent out to be the "schoolmaster, comforter of the sick, and setter of the psalms." He found, he wrote, twenty families at New Amstel, all Swedes but five or six. In August of that year he reported that he had a school of twenty-five children. This was the germ of the schools and colleges of Delaware and Pennsylvania—the beginning of them all.

There is frequent mention of commerce in bricks. They were brought from brickyards at Manhattan to New Amstel for the chimneys of the new houses, there and at Altona. The ship *De Meulen* (The Mill), which had brought from Holland the ill-provided company at the end of September, 1658, had bricks as part of her cargo. But earlier than that, 1656, we find Jacobus Crabbe presenting a petition concerning a plantation near New Amstel, "where brick and tile are made and baked." The live stock increased slowly. Many allusions are made to the subject in the reports. Horses and cattle were sent from Manhattan, or bought in Virginia, and it was a practice to place them among the farmers—mostly the Swedes—to be kept for their use and part of the increase. Cattle appear to have been driven overland from Manhattan, in at least one instance. Goats are mentioned, at one time, with a demand that they have a keeper. At another, the swine are to be yoked, or may be in default killed by the soldiers. Alrich writes, 1657, that they are "few in number and wild;" also that he has himself but two cows which give milk. Oxen and horses are much needed, he says, those he has being "feeble and weak." Three persons have arrived, he reports in a later letter, with about forty cows, and these he has bought at 128 to 130 guilders apiece.

The fur-trade is not much mentioned, but it was probably vigorously maintained, and of importance. In 1657 there was a "general meeting" of settlers at Fort Casimir, and the prices to be paid for furs were agreed upon and signed by about thirty persons: for a "merchantable beaver" two fathoms of seawan

(wampum); for a "good bear's hide, to the value of a beaver," the same; for an "elant's hide" the same; for a deer skin, 120 seawan; and smaller amounts for skins of foxes and other animals. An official placard complains that the settlers were too eager for trade, and "ran after" the Indians. They were warned not to coax them or give them gifts, but to let them bring in their furs and receive the pay appointed. In September, 1660, Beekman writes that the ship *De Groene Arent* (Green Eagle) took out 21 bear skins and 106 deer-skins. A year later he remarks upon the war between the Minquas and Senecas that it "makes



Signature of William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania; born 1644; died 1718

the trade bad," and in a letter in February, 1662, he says the war continues, and that "the river savages here are also in great fear, so that they have not undertaken their usual hunting, which is the cause of a poor trade."

Besides furs and skins, other exports were as yet few. Not enough grain was raised, as a rule, for home use, though in November, 1662, Beekman writes: "Next summer we shall most likely be compelled to get our bread-stuffs from the Manhattans, as at present all the grain is bought up by the merchants and sent there." In March, 1658, a vessel for Manhattan was loaded partly with hickory wood at Altona, and partly with rye straw at Tinicum. Later, we hear of a cargo of lumber—"clapboards"—loaded on Upland kill to go by the ship *De Eyckenboom* (The Oak Tree) to Holland.

In July, 1658, William Beekman, who had been a schepen (magistrate) at Manhattan since 1656, was appointed by Stuyvesant to represent the West India Company on the Delaware, as

its commissary and Vice-Director. He was sent to Altona (Christina) to reside—though his duties in connection with the prevention of smuggling and the collection of customs took him much to New Amstel—and he remained at Altona throughout the Dutch period, his letters and reports forming the most valuable material extant for a study of the colony, especially that part within the Pennsylvania limits. Most of the Swedish settlers, being north of the Christina, on the company's land, came under his supervision, and his relations with them were friendly.

One of the earliest of Beekman's duties was to purchase from the Indians the land from Bombay Hook to the Delaware capes. It had been feared that the English "from Virginia" might seize the mouth of the river. The usual agreement was made with the complaisant natives, and in May, 1659, a log "fort" was built at the Hoorn-kill by Beekman and D'Hinoyossa—the latter the lieutenant of Alrich at New Amstel. A small company of soldiers was placed in the fort. It is worthy of note that this was the first reoccupancy of the place by white men since the destruction of Swanendael, in 1631.

No enemies from Virginia appeared, but in the summer and autumn of 1659 trouble threatened from Maryland.

The Maryland colony was now a quarter of a century old. Its charter had been granted by Charles the First of England, in April, 1632, to George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, but he dying, it was actually issued to his son, Cecil Calvert, the second Baron, on June 20 of that year. By its terms this grant was for lands uncultivated and unoccupied—*hactenas inculta* is the Latin phrase of the document—and the question was to recur afterward many times, as we shall see, whether the west shore of the Delaware *was* unoccupied by white men in the year 1632. Lord Baltimore sent out two ships, the *Ark* and the *Dove,* in the autumn of 1633, under the command of his brother, Leonard Calvert, whom he appointed Governor, and in March, 1634, they landed at St. Mary's, on the Potomac, and began the settlement.

We should remind ourselves at this point of the great events which had occurred in England during the time we have been tracing the struggling life of the white men's colonies on the west side of the Delaware, from the day of DeVries and Swanendael down to the supremacy of the Dutch flag under Stuyvesant. The Civil War in England had endured from 1642 onward to the execution of King Charles in 1649. Cromwell had ruled England to his death in 1658, and now, in 1659, as the settlers at New Amstel began to be concerned about the Maryland government's designs, the "restoration" of Charles the Second was impending.

In the course of their petty troubles a particularly vexatious experience of both Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware had been the "desertion" not only of colonists, but of enlisted soldiers and "servants," to the Maryland settlements along the Chesapeake. In June, 1659, Governor Alrich and his Council at New Amstel decided to address a letter to the Maryland government, asking the rendition of six soldiers who had recently absconded in that direction. This letter they sent to Colonel Nathaniel Utie, an Englishman who occupied the island in Chesapeake Bay, opposite the mouth of Elk river, known as Spesutia. Utie had located there to trade with the Indians, and had been accorded a place in the Governor's Council in Maryland, and besides had been appointed captain in the military force of the province. The Dutch apparently recognized him as the most important of their Maryland neighbors.

The immediate outcome of the letter to Colonel Utie was not at all what Governor Alrich had designed. It stirred up the Maryland authorities to claim that the whole of the Delaware settlements were within the Maryland grant. The Calverts had long held this view, but an opportune moment to insist upon it had not before appeared. Colonel Utie now told the New Amstel messenger that Lord Baltimore had commanded that the lands within his boundaries "should be reviewed and surveyed, and when ascertained be reduced under his jurisdiction," and that

he himself had a commission to go to New Amstel on this business.

The Governor of Maryland at this time was Josias Fendall, for whom even the historians of that colony and state have few words of praise. Fendall and his Council, at Anne Arundel, (Annapolis), on the 3d of August (1659), directed Colonel Utie to repair to "the pretended governor of a people seated in Delaware Bay, within his lordship's province," and "to require them to depart." He was to "insinuate" to them, however, if he found an opportunity, that if they would come to Maryland to settle they would find "good conditions" and "have protection in their lives, liberty and estates."

It resulted, therefore, that on the 6th of September, Colonel Utie and a party of five companions and attendants, with four of the Dutch deserters, came riding into New Amstel. Alrich was already nerve-shaken, and this cavalcade may well have alarmed him. Besides the droughts, the floods, the scarcity of food, the weakness of the fort, the slender force of soldiers, his wife had recently died. Though the veil of the future was not rent for him, his own death lay but a few weeks distant.

Colonel Utie presented the Maryland demands in a letter from Fendall. Beekman, summoned from Altona, joined with Alrich in receiving them. The Dutch made the best reply they could to so imperious a summons: that they were not subject to the King of England, but to the States-General of the Netherlands; that their colony dated back many years, to a time before Lord Baltimore's grant had been heard of; and that they had no authority to surrender lands or make agreements, and must refer the whole subject to Stuyvesant, for which purpose a reasonable time, say three weeks, must be granted. Utie, according to the Dutch officials' report to Stuyvesant, was blustering and irritating; he told them their weakness was evident, and that it would suit him best to seize the place now, when the tobacco crop was mostly gathered. Finally, however, he agreed to grant the

three weeks' time, and after a stay of five days he and his suite departed.

Stuyvesant, at Manhattan, received news of these doings with characteristic rage. He denounced Utie and his "frivolous, fabricated instructions;" he almost equally rated Alrich and Beekman and their advisers for their "not less frivolous answers and proceedings," permitting Utie "to sow his seditious and mutinous seed" at New Amstel "during four or five days." Such conduct showed, he said, "unquestionable proofs of want of prudence and courage." They had earnestly asked for help, so he sent some at once, sixty soldiers—though he could ill spare them—under command of the valiant Captain Martin Krygier, a burgomaster of New Amsterdam. Also he sent "the beloved, discreet and faithful" Cornelius Van Ruyven, his secretary, who with Krygier should make a commission to sift thoroughly the situation on the South river. Still further, he commissioned two others, Augustine Heermans, (or Herman) and Resolved Waldron to go forthwith on an embassy to Maryland. Herman was a well known figure later as the "lord" of Bohemia Manor, on the Chesapeake; Waldron was the "under schout" at New Amsterdam. Stuyvesant directed them to see the Maryland authorities, request the surrender of fugitives, maintain the validity of the Dutch claims on the Delaware, and demand reparation for the "frivolous demands and bloody threatening" of Utie.

It resulted that nothing further of importance came of the Maryland demonstrations. Utie did not return at the end of the three weeks, or at all. The five hundred men whom it was reported he would bring to subdue New Amstel and Altona never appeared before those places. Instead, however, Van Ruyven and Krygier, Stuyvesant's commissioners, did come, and instituted an inquiry into Alrich's management, the outcome of which was an acrimonious dispute between him and them, which had hardly subsided when Alrich died, at the end of December, 1659. Herman and Waldron proceeded at once to Maryland, and the

journal of their trip, written by Herman, is an interesting and valuable document. They left New Amstel on the 30th of September, overland, with Indian guides, and a few soldiers. Reaching the heads of Elk river they procured a boat and paddled down that stream to Chesapeake bay, and carefully avoiding the neighborhood of Spesutia island—on which sounds of a "frolic" were heard—reached Kent island on the 3d of October. On the 4th they were at Severn river, and on the 6th they reached the Patuxent. On the 8th they met Philip Calvert, the provincial secretary, and after some delay a formal meeting was arranged, with Governor Fendall and his Council, "at Mr. Bateman's, at Patuxent." This was held at last on the 16th, and was the first of a series of conferences in which, naturally, the principal theme of discussion was the question of superior claim on the Delaware. There was plenty of good cheer, after the Maryland manner then and since, and in the intervals of eating and drinking the debates grew earnest. At one time the Maryland people said that Lord Baltimore's right, being that of the English crown, rested upon the discoveries of Sir Walter Raleigh, whereupon the Dutch envoys said their rights came still earlier from explorers sent out by the King of Spain, to which the United Netherlands, by the treaty of peace with him, had succeeded.

On the 17th of October, Gov. Fendall exhibited the patent of King Charles to Lord Baltimore, and showed that it granted him land from Watkins Point, on Chesapeake bay, "northward unto the fortieth degree of latitude, and from the Atlantic ocean and Delaware bay on the east to the Potomac river on the west." The envoys were, no doubt, quite prepared to learn this, for in a conversation earlier with Secretary Calvert he had told them that Maryland extended to the limits of New England, and being asked, "Where then, would New Netherland come in?" calmly answered he did not know!

Herman and Waldron, however, inspected the patent carefully, and were not long in fastening upon one of its weak points.

In a memorandum which they drew up they pointed out the *hactenas inculta* clause, the recital that Baltimore had asked the King for land "not cultivated or planted, but only inhabited as yet by barbarous Indians," whereas, they said, their people had before 1632 been settled upon the South river. The Maryland claim, they said, went back but twenty-seven years, whereas the Dutch had been in possession for forty years—a statement which could hardly be justified unless the supposed voyage of Hendricksen in 1616, in the *Onrust*, could be established. That De Vries had planted his colony at Swanendael in the early part of 1631, a full year before Lord Baltimore's grant, there was no doubt, but it was equally beyond question—as the Swedes had insisted—that that settlement had been abandoned almost as soon as begun.

The result of the conferences, however, evidently was to impress the Maryland officials with a doubt of the complete validity of their claims upon the Delaware. Colonel Utie declared that he would like an opportunity to repeat his visit to New Amstel with a fresh commission, but Secretary Calvert and others of the Council were more conciliatory. What Fendall thought did not much matter, as he was nearing the end of his service as Governor. On the 20th of October Waldron departed for Manhattan, "with the reports, papers, and documents," while Herman proceeded to Virginia to try to make friends with the Governor there, in case of a possible future conflict with Maryland.

No disturbance, therefore, of the peace of New Amstel was caused by the Maryland government. Nor did any other enemy appear for five years. The colonists on the Delaware continued much as before. At the death of Alrich, Alexander d'Hinoyossa succeeded as Deputy-Governor, and though his abilities tended much more to distraction than order, and he pleased apparently no one but himself—certainly not Beekman, or Stuyvesant, as their letters and reports abundantly show—he held his place to the end of the Dutch rule in 1664. Few events in

1660-63 demand extended notice. D'Hinoyossa's arbitrary conduct, which Stuyvesant could not control because the City of Amsterdam owned the New Amstel colony, made no small part of Beekman's letters. Even worse was D'Hinoyossa's behavior to the Indians. The sale of liquor to them went on almost unchecked. Beekman's letters abound in details of this. In May, 1660, he quotes the testimony of several persons that for a long time no regard had been paid by the Governor "to the sale of strong drinks to the savages, so that they run about with it in the daytime, and discharge their guns near the houses," etc. A few weeks later, June 30, he writes to Stuyvesant:

"Sir, I cannot omit to inform your honor that I see many drunken savages daily, and I am told that they sit drinking publicly in some taverns. On the 14th inst., when I went with Capt. Jacop and Mons. Schreck to the house of Foppe Janssen (a tavern) to salute Mr. Rendel Revel, who had come overland from Virginia, while we were there several drunken savages came before the windows, so that it was a disgrace in presence of strangers. Likewise our soldiers and others have told me that the savages had an entire anker of anise-liquor on the strand near the church, and sat around it drinking. One Gerret, the smith, came also at the same time complaining; he lives in the back part of the town near the edge of the forest, and says that he is much annoyed by drunken savages every night."

One of the worst offenders in the liquor selling was an official at Altona, the "clerk and reader" for the Fort, Jan Juriaens Becker. Despite his semi-clerical character, he was a bold offender, and supplied both soldiers and Indians with brandy in the face of Beekman's protests. Finally he was brought to trial at Manhattan, and then accused others of the same thing. He declared, indeed, that it would be hard to find many persons on the South river who did not sell liquor to the Indians, "because without it it is hard to get provisions"— a statement which finds some support in a letter of Beekman himself, a little later, in

which he says to Stuyvesant, "I need also two ankers of brandy or distilled water to barter it next month for maize for the garrison, as it is easier obtained for liquor than for other goods." Becker submitted the affidavits of three persons in his defense, who declared not only that liquor was "openly sold to the savages in the Colony and in and near Fort Altona," but that if the "poor inhabitants" did not sell or barter liquor to the Indians for "maize, meat, and other things, they would perish from hunger." And another affidavit submitted by Becker declared that Alrich had once sent the deponents "with several ankers of brandy and Spanish wine in a sloop to the savages, to trade them for Indian corn, or wampum or whatever they could best obtain."

Becker was convicted and fined, but upon his earnest pleading that the fine would ruin him, and that the liquor traffic "was carried on so openly by high and low officers of the state," that he thought it a venial matter for him occasionally to trade some brandy "for Indian corn and deer meat," the main penalty was remitted.

The Indians themselves were well aware of the ruin brought upon them by the "fire-water." Beekman writes in March, 1662, that at Tinneconck some of the "river" chiefs had "addressed themselves to Mr. Hendrick Huyghen," and had "proposed and requested that no more brandy or strong drink should be sold" to their people. They presented three belts of wampum to support the petition, and Beekman remarks that "the request was a proper one," agreeing with Stuyvesant's orders, and the placards posted about. D'Hinoyossa acted upon it by threatening a fine of 300 guilders on any trader caught selling liquor to the natives, and also authorizing the Indians themselves "to rob those who bring liquors."

The consequences of the liquor traffic, open or illicit, were quarrels and bloodshed. The drunken Indian, equally with the drunken white man, was capable of every mischief, and it was the pitiable experience of the little hamlets at New Amstel and Al-

CHARLES R.

Herras His Majesty, in consideration of the great Merit and Faithful Services of Sir William Penn deceased, and for divers other good Causes him thereunto moving, hath been Graciously pleased by Letters Patents bearing Date the Fourth day of March last past, to Give and Grant unto William Penn Esquire, Son and Heir of the said Sir William Penn, all that Tract of Land in America, called by the Name of Pennsilvania, as the same is Bounded on the East by Delaware River, from Twelve Miles distance Northwards of Newcastle Town, unto the Three and fourtieth Degree of Northern Latitude, if the said River doth extend so far Northwards, and if the said River shall not extend so far Northward, then by the said River so far as it doth extend: And from the Head of the said River, the Eastern Bounds to be determined by a Meridian Line to be Drawn from the Head of the said River, unto the said Three and fourtieth Degree, the said Province to extend Westward Five Degrees in Longitude, to be Computed from the said Eastern Bounds, and to be Bounded on the North, by the Beginning of the Three and fourtieth Degree of Northern Latitude, and on the South by a Circle Drawn at Twelve Miles distance from Newcastle Northwards, and Westwards unto the Beginning of the Fourtieth Degree of Northern Latitude, and then by a streight Line Westwards to the limit of Longitude above mentioned, together with all Powers, Preheminencies and Jurisdictions necessary for the Government of the said Province, as by the said Letters Patents, Reference being thereunto had, doth more at large appear.

His Majesty doth therefore hereby Publish and Declare His Royal Will and Pleasure, That all Persons Settled or Inhabiting Within the Limits of the said Province, do yield all Due Obedience to the said William Penn, His Heirs and Assigns, as absolute Proprietaries and Governours thereof, as also to the Deputy or Deputies, Agents or Lieutenants, Lawfully Commissionated by him or them, according to the Powers and Authorities Granted by the said Letters Patents; Wherewith His Majesty Expects and Requires a ready Compliance from all Persons whom it may concern, as they tender His Majesties Displeasure.

Given at the Court at *Whitehall* the Second day of *April* 1681. In the Three and thirtieth year of Our Reign.

To the Inhabitants and Planters of the Province of Pennsilvania.

By His Majesties Command,

CONWAY.

LONDON,
Printed by the Assigns of *John Bill*, *Thomas Newcomb*, and *Henry Hills*, Printers to the Kings most Excellent Majesty. 1681.

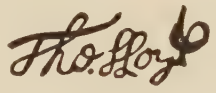
Proclamation of the Charter to William Penn, April 2, 1681

tona during these years to see this fully exemplified. In November, 1659, Beekman writes that at Altona six Indians, inflamed with Becker's brandy, disturbed the place, were pursued by the soldiers "into the bushes," and came back later and stole two blankets and a gun. A few weeks after, "two soldiers being drunk"—again on Becker's liquor—"burned a little Indian canoe, whereupon the savages threatened to set fire to a house or kill some cattle," so that Beekman had to interfere and pacify them. But, worse still, an Indian who had been drinking in the woods with a white man, Pieter Mayer, was next morning found dead, "a little further into the woods," whereupon the other Indians threatened the man who had sold the liquor, saying he had put poison in it. Presently they set the dead body "upon a hurdle, and put it on four great prongs," opposite the house where the liquor was bought, as a "curse" to the place.

Worse followed. A week after the report of these occurrences, Beekman wrote that two Indians had been killed "by Christians," and their bodies found "in the underbrush or marshy places near New Amstel." Presently it appeared that three had been killed, instead of two; it "was done upon the farm of the late Mr. Alrich by his two servants." Stuyvesant, in a letter to Holland, calls it a "cruel murder," committed "only from the damnable desire of wampum," the victims being "a man, a woman and a boy." The murderers were known, and had been arrested, but D'Hinoyossa and his Council released them. The settlers were alarmed, fearing bloody reprisals by the Indians, and endeavors were hastily made to conciliate the neighboring chiefs. Beekman wrote to the Swedish sheriff Van Dyck to come to Altona to meet the Indians for that purpose, the Swedes being "better acquainted with the temper and manner of the savages than we new-comers," but Van Dyck excused himself, saying the Indians had told them not to "trouble themselves with the matter." An incident a little later (April, 1660) may be added here. Jan Barentsen, a carpenter, was killed by the Indians in the direc-

tion of Maryland, and his wife died, either at Colonel Utie's or at the house of "Jacob," an Indian trader in the Susquehanna region. A child of this unfortunate couple survived, and the romantic story attached to it that it had been born in Holland "at the departure of Mr. Alrich, in the ship *Prins Mauritz*," in 1657, and had been christened "Amstelhoop" (Hope of Amstel), "at the request of the Lords Burgomasters."

The revenge of blood for the three Indians killed near New Amstel came early in May, 1661, when four white men, three English and one Dutch, were killed by Indians on the road from



Signature of Thomas Lloyd; governor of Pennsylvania; born 1640; died 1694

New Amstel to the Maryland settlements. As the news spread, the neighboring Indians, expecting now to be attacked by the whites, hid "in great fear" for two weeks. Two of them, however, had brought to New Amstel some of the clothing of the slain victims, and offered it for sale. They were arrested, but after an examination released by D'Hinoyossa as "not the right savages." The crime aroused general excitement and alarm. The Maryland authorities upbraided D'Hinoyossa for his action, and reports quickly spread that the English of that province would come in force and inflict their own punishment on the Indians. The river Indians were terrified at the rumor, and many of them met at Passyunk to collect wampum for presents to the Minquas to induce them to intervene. "The Minquas," Beekman adds in repeating this, had "already offered presents in peltries to the Governor of Maryland for this matter, but he refused to accept them, and had on the contrary requested them to go and destroy the river savages, which they declined to do." A few weeks later, commissioners from Maryland appeared at New Amstel, and D'Hinoyossa summoned the river chiefs from Passyunk

and other places to a conference to compose the troubles. Only one chief ventured to come, and he was from the east side of the river, not the west, but the meeting was held at Appoquinimy, on the border line of the Maryland country. Governor Calvert himself attended, "and made peace with the aforesaid sachem, and merry with D'Hinoyossa." This conclusion was pleasing, no doubt, to the absent "river chiefs," who had been saying to Andreas Hudde and others that "the English have killed some of

Signature of Edward Shippen; member Provincial Council, 1696–1712; judge of the Supreme Court, 1697; mayor of Philadelphia, 1701

ours, and we again some of theirs," and that one would "set off against the other."

Nor have these details quite exhausted the evil story. Early in September, 1662, Joris Floris, an old man, was driving through the forest, near New Amstel, with a wagon drawn by two horses, when he was "shot down from the horse" and scalped. Beekman wrote that he thought a river Indian had been previously shot by the whites, and that this was an act in reprisal; but further inquiry made the murder more mysterious. A few weeks later, in November, "about an hour after evening," a young man, a servant of Jan Staelcop, the miller near Altona, was killed "about four hundred steps from the Fort." The river Indians charged this on the Minquas or Senecas, and a fortnight after, five Minqua chiefs, with their suites, came to Beekman at Altona, alleging that the act had been committed by a captive Seneca belonging to them. They declared their own good will. "As long as any Christians have lived here," they said, "it never can be proved that any ill or violence has been done them by our nation," though three years

before, they added, a Minqua Indian had been killed by the Christians at New Amstel. Often, they said, they had mediated for peace between the Christians and other Indians.

The war of the Iroquois tribes, at this period, upon the Indians of the Susquehanna, has been referred to in an earlier chapter. Beekman wrote at the end of May, 1661, that "the Minquas and the Sinnecus are at war with each other." Six weeks later he repeated this, and added a report that "the English from Maryland have assisted the Minquas with fifty men in their fort." In October he heard that the Minquas were hard pressed by the Senecas, and that the latter had killed twelve river Indians on the river "a little above the Swedish settlement," so that the Swedes now feared the Senecas would kill their cattle. In February, 1662, he reported the war on the Susquehanna continuing, and in December the Minqua chiefs visiting Altona said they were expecting the aid of eight hundred "black Minquas," of whom two hundred had already come. Next spring they would resume their war against the Senecas and assail them in their own stronghold—"visit their fort." In May following, 1663, however, the Senecas were first in the field. "Jacob," the Indian trader, sent word to Andreas Hudde that 1600 Senecas—an exaggerated figure, of course—with their wives and children, were marching on the Minquas, and were then but two days distant. Later Beekman repeats this story, but reports the Senecas as only eight hundred, and relates that the Minquas had made a sally from their fort, and had driven off their assailants, pursuing them for two days, killing ten and capturing others.

The lugubrious story of drunkenness, quarrels, murders, and wars made the dark side of the colony's life; there was, however, a better side. A cheerful feature was the confidence shown in the Indians by selecting them as guides and messengers. The letters of Alrich and Beekman, if sent overland, as was the rule, were given to an Indian to carry. He went in a boat to Meggeckessou, the falls of the Delaware at Trenton, and thence by

land to Communipaw, opposite New Amsterdam. In many letters Beekman adds the memorandum that he is sending it "by a savage." "On the 9th instant, at night, I sent a savage to your honor." "Sir, this is in haste, as the savage is very urgent to leave with the tide." "Mr. Beekman" (writes Andreas Hudde) "has requested me to forward this, . . therefore I have hired this savage thereto; he is to have at the Manahatas a cloth and a pair of socks." "Gentlemen, I have promised the bearer, . . a piece of cloth and a pair of socks provided he brings over the letter in four or five days at the utmost." These are some of the many references to the subject. As the plan was consistently maintained it is evident that the Indians proved faithful carriers.

The name of an Indian runner, Sipaelle, is given in one letter, but few other names of the local Indians are known. Becker, the brandy-selling clerk, says he gave a drink occasionally to friendly sachems such as "Meckeck Schinck, Wechnarent, Areweehing, and Hoppaming," but of none of these have we any other account than the dram-drinking except in the case of Hoppaming. Of him Beekman relates, in January, 1661, that "about fourteen days ago, the grave of one Hoppemink, an Indian chief, was robbed; he had been buried a short time before (in New Amstel). They took out of it a party of wampum, 3 or 4 pieces of duffel, and further what he had with him; the savages murmur about it, and may perhaps undertake something bad."

It had been a fixed plan of the Dutch officials to collect the Swedes into compact communities, where they could be more readily watched. But though numerous efforts were made, the time never came when this could be effected. The Swedes naturally did not desire to leave the homes they had made. Beekman went among them at different times to persuade them to remove, but he had himself little heart in the undertaking, and reported to Stuyvesant that the difficulties were great. In April, 1660, he writes that he has been with the Swedes and Finns "several days." There was a dispute among those at Kingsesse and

Aroenemeck which should remove—in which neighborhood they should concentrate. "Nobody is willing to make room, . . everyone asserts that he will keep his entire lot and fields." At Tinicum Madam Papegoia declared she could not remove, "on account of her heavy buildings, also because the church stands

Seal of David Lloyd

there." A sergeant, Andries Lourens, had tried to enlist some Swedes for the Esopus war against the Indians, but none would go; Beekman believed their head men had advised them "not to scatter themselves, but to keep about here"—which is very likely. For the time he decided that they should not be disturbed until they could gather their harvests, and in May Peter Kock and two other deputies came to represent that the proposed removal was impracticable, and to say that if they must break up, "then we shall go away to where we may remain living in peace." Finally the Dutch officials appear to have abandoned the scheme.

It is probable that the Swedes had in some cases a definite grant of land. In the recitals of old titles in Delaware there is occasionally a reference to a grant by Stuyvesant, though no original papers appear to be extant.

The division of the Dutch territory into separate jurisdictions and interests was obviously a grave disadvantage. In 1663, therefore, the City of Amsterdam acquired from the West India Company all its claims upon the South river. The matter was under negotiation throughout the year; at the end of December Stuyvesant executed a formal act ceding to D'Hinoyossa, as the representative of the burghers of Amsterdam, "the South River from the sea upwards, so far as that river extends itself—toward the country, on the East side three miles from the border of the river, and toward the West side so far as the country extends until it reaches the English colonies."

D'Hinoyossa, who had been to Holland, and had explained to the burghers of Amsterdam the great possibilities of trade and population on the Delaware, came back as the ruler of the whole river, triumphing thus over Beekman, whose office was now ended, and over Stuyvesant, whose authority he had defied. He reached New Amstel December 3, 1663, in the ship *de Purmerlander Kerck* (the Church of Purmerland), with Peter Alrich and Israel Helm "as members of the High Council," and about one hundred and fifty immigrants. He proceeded at once to organize his colony, and his policy appeared more favorable to the Swedes than Stuyvesant's had been. Peter Cock was appointed collector of tolls on imports and exports, and Israel Helm to supervise the fur trade "at the upper end of Passyunk."

All this, however, was in vain. It recalls the energy of Risingh just before Stuyvesant swooped down upon him in 1655. The English lion was now ready to devour New Netherland. The summer of 1664 brought the catastrophe, when the fleet of the Duke of York appeared at Manhattan. In September Stuyvesant surrendered there, and in October the colony of D'Hinoyossa

was captured. We shall speak of these events in more detail, in the chapter following.

The number of white people on the west bank of the Delaware river, at the close of the year 1664 can only be conjectured. There were, no doubt, fully a thousand, and possibly there were twice that number. D'Hinoyossa represented at Amsterdam, in 1663, that there were people on "one hundred and ten plantations," besides those living in the towns, soldiers, etc. In 1659 it had been proposed to tax the Swedes "five or six guilders for each family," and Beekman estimated that this would produce about four hundred guilders, thus indicating that there were not over eighty Swedish families. In March, 1660, he reported that Sheriff Van Dyck said "the Swedes and Finns count about 130 men capable to bear arms," which would indicate a total Swedish and Finnish population of at least six hundred.

The colonists were located on or near the river. A handful of soldiers probably remained at the Delaware capes, and there was also there a little colony of communistic "Mennonites" whom Peter Cornelius Plockhoy had brought over from Holland a few months earlier. Northward from the capes to Bombay Hook, and thence to New Amstel, there was hardly a white man's home. New Amstel itself was the most important place on the river—though D'Hinoyossa proposed now to locate the colonial capital at Appoquinimy (now Appoquinimink), southeast from New Amstel, as a better point from which to trade with Maryland. Altona, besides its decayed "fort," had a few houses. Then, northward, the clearings and plantings of the Swedes extended to where Philadelphia now stands, most of them being north of the Pennsylvania line. There were some centers of activity and life; Marcus Hook, Upland, Tinicum (occasionally called New Leyden), Passyunk, Kingsessing and Karakung (the old Swedes Mill), were places known to all, white and red, who had acquaintance with the South River colony.

CHAPTER V

UNDER THE DUKE OF YORK.—1664-1681

THE Dutch had had many warnings of the English purpose. From the side of New England encroachments had been coming on Long Island, and on the mainland, almost within sight of Manhattan. From the side of Maryland, as we have seen, claims were made which would have obliterated New Netherland. The closing years of Stuyvesant's rule were times of distress and distraction over the increasingly difficult task of maintaining his ground.

The fatal weakness of his situation lay in the nature of the colony itself. It had never really taken root. It was essentially a trading, not a planting, enterprise which the West India Company had undertaken, and as a competent American writer has observed, "the trading spirit is not of itself sufficient to establish successful settlement, and monopolies cannot be safely intrusted with the government of colonies."

It had been the traditional policy of England to claim the whole North American coast covered by the two blanket charters which James the First had granted to the London and the Plymouth companies in 1606—stretching from Carolina to Nova Scotia, including islands within a hundred miles of the coast, and reaching inland without limit. When in 1632 Charles the First told the Dutch ambassadors, as has been related, that the settlements called New Netherland were all on English ground, it was but a re-statement of the settled policy, and a warning of what should be expected at a time convenient to England. And this

time, after the passage of the Navigation Act by the English Parliament, in 1660, and its amendment in 1663, had now come.

For the Navigation Act was an instrument to build up England's commerce, and destroy that of Holland. It provided that no European goods should go into an English colony except they came from England in an English ship. Furthermore, no goods produced in the colonies which the English merchants cared for—and they were strictly enumerated in the law, and the list increased from time to time—could be sent to any other ports than those under the English crown, though goods not desired in England might be sent from the colonies to ports south of Cape Finisterre on the coast of Spain, thus cutting out the coast of France.

The establishment of this system was the beginning of the chapter which first consolidated England's power in North America, and in the end lost to her all she seemed to have gained. The Navigation Acts, and the consequent monopoly of colonial trade in the hands of English merchants, was an intolerable injustice which in a large degree caused the Revolution of 1776.

But the American Revolution was in 1663 a full century distant. The pressing question in England was the expansion of trade, the abasement of Holland, increase of the Crown revenues, and consequent profit to those who had the job of collecting them. It was perceived that the intended monopoly in trade in America could not be effective on the long coast line while the great port at Manhattan remained in the hands of the Dutch, and while they held the traffic of the North and South rivers. Some illicit trade there would always be, but the amount of it, with this great gap open in the English line, must be unbearable.

The policy of England therefore concurred with the personal inclination of the King and his brother, when on the 12th of March, 1663-4,[1] Charles granted to James, Duke of York, a pat-

[1]We have come now to the English calendar usage and its "double dating" between January 1 and March 24. The Dutch would have made this date March 22, 1664, for they had adopted the Gregorian calendar in 1582, but England retained the Julian calendar until 1752.

Old Penn Mansion, Letitia Court

Built 1682; removed and re-erected in Fairmount Park in 1882

ent for a great body of land in America, lying between the west bank of the Connecticut river, and the east side of the Delaware, the inland line being drawn from "the head of the Connecticut river to the source of Hudson river, thence to the head of the Mohawk branch of the Hudson, and thence to the east side of Delaware bay." This was New Netherland, the colony which the Dutch had been promoting almost since the voyage of Hudson, but Charles assumed that it was English territory, and that the Dutch for half a century had simply been intruders upon it.

Such a claim, if pressed, meant of course war with the Dutch Republic. For that the English King and his brother were ready, if not prepared. Though their sister had married one of the chief of the Dutchmen, William, Prince of Orange, and the son of this marriage, William, now a lad of fourteen, was their nephew, neither King nor Duke loved Holland.[1]

The Duke of York was the Lord High Admiral of England. Ships to seize the Dutch territory were thus at his command, and four of these were at once fitted out for America. Four commissioners went on board, to take charge of the new territory when it should be seized—Col. Richard Nicolls, Sir Robert Carr, Col. George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick. The last-named had been some time in the Massachusetts colony, an implacable opponent of the ruling people there; the other three were officers in the British army. Nicolls was the brains of the commission, an able and sagacious man.

James, Duke of York, with whom we must now concern ourselves more or less for a quarter of a century of this narrative, was in 1664 thirty-one years old. He had married in 1660 Anne

[1]As this narrative of Pennsylvania will presently have to do with this nephew of Charles and James, William of Orange, who became the son-in-law of James in 1677, and King of England in 1688 (William III.), a few facts of interest may be mentioned here. William's father died in 1650, of small-pox, eight days before his (the son's) birth, and his mother (Mary, daughter of Charles I., and sister of Charles II., and James II.), going to London, in 1660, at the Restoration, died there, of small-pox, so that William was left an orphan at ten years. He succeeded his uncle and father-in-law, as King of England, in 1688.

Hyde, daughter of that distinguished, if not altogether honored figure in English history, the Earl of Clarendon. As his brother the King had no legitimate children—though many others—James was heir presumptive to the English throne. The grant of the American territory to him would therefore, if he became king, merge in the Crown possessions, and the settlements upon it become a Crown colony.

Sailing from Portsmouth England, on the 15th of May (1664), the Duke's ships were at Boston late in July, and on the 19th of August had reached the waters around Manhattan Island.

Signature of Thomas Wynne, member of the Assembly, 1683

The four were the *Guinea,* the *Elias,* the *Martin,* and the *William and Nicholas,* carrying altogether eighty-two guns. They had on board about four hundred and fifty soldiers. It was a force so overwhelming that resistance by Stuyvesant was manifestly impracticable. He would, however, have made a defense, if his councillors had not overborne him. They preferred to yield and accept the assurances of Col. Nicolls, rather than resist and be worse used. On the 29th of August the fort of New Amsterdam was surrendered by Stuyvesant, and the English flag was raised over it.

The South river colony was promptly visited, also. It did not lie—that part of it which had importance—within the King's grant to the Duke, for it was on the west side of the Delaware, but it was part of New Netherland. Sir Robert Carr was therefore sent, September 3, with the *Guinea* and the *William and Nicholas,* and as many soldiers as could be spared from the Manhattan fort, to "reduce" it to submission. The other three commissioners gave him a letter of authority. It began: "Whereas, we are informed that the Dutch have seated themselves at Dela-

ware Bay, on his Majesty of Great Britain's territories, without his knowledge or consent, and that they have fortified themselves there, and drawn a great deal of trade thither; and being assured that if they be permitted to go on, the gaining of this place will be of small advantage to His Majesty, we"—etc., etc.

Caleb Pusey House, near Chester

Oldest building in Pennsylvania, having been built in 1683. Occupied by William Penn during occasional visits. Photo by Louise D. Woodbridge.

Once more, then, a hostile fleet came inside the capes and up the bay. The voyage from New York—as henceforth we shall know it—had been tedious, and it was not until the last day of September that the two warships reached New Amstel, and Carr summoned the place to surrender. He had, he says, "almost three days' parley" with the Governor and the burghers; the latter agreed to yield, but the Governor and soldiers refused. He therefore landed his men, and the ships fired two broadsides upon the fort, after which it was stormed. The assailants sustained no loss, but the Dutch had ten wounded and three killed. This is Carr's account, and all we have. If we may trust it, D'Hinoyossa appears as a more resolute defender of the post he held than his

Dutch predecessor in 1654, or the Swedish in the following year.

Whether or not the capture was attended with bloodshed, Carr's men, according to his own report, plundered right and left. In the fort and the town soldiers and sailors vied with one another in robbery. Carr said they made so much "noise and confusion" about it that his commands could not be heard. The cows, oxen, horses, and sheep of the settlers were seized. More important than the quadrupeds were a number of negro slaves, who also fell prize to the Englishmen. There were some sixty or seventy of these. They had reached Manhattan in the *Gideon,* a slave ship, with over two hundred more, just before the arrival of the English fleet, and had barely escaped capture there, Peter Alrich having hurried them across the North river, and thence overland to New Amstel. They were now divided among the captors, and Carr promptly traded some to Maryland. In his report, a few days after the capture, he says: "I have already sent into Maryland some Neegars which did belong to ye late Governor at his plantation above, for beefe, pork, corne, and salt, and for some other small conveniences which this place affordeth not."

Sir Robert Carr assumed also the right to seize and distribute the lands of the Dutch officials—for which Col. Nicolls, in a letter from New York to London, censured him, though it does not appear that the disposition thus made was ultimately disturbed. The land of D'Hinoyossa Carr appropriated for himself; to his brother, Captain John Carr, he gave that of Van Sweringen, the Dutch "schout;" Ensign Stock, besides eleven of the negro slaves, got "Peter Alrich's land," and to the two captains of the ships which had brought the expedition, Hyde and Morley, there was generously granted a "manor," located far up the Delaware, a gift which for a long time to come would not be likely to much enrich a white owner.

Even the little community which Cornelius Plockhoy had begun so hopefully the year before, at the Hoorn kill, could not

be spared by the plunderers. A vessel was sent down from New Amstel to seize it, and the poor colonists were stripped of all they had, "to a very naile," thus ending the enterprise.[1]

Carr's report to Nicolls, from which a citation has already been made, was dated October 13, nearly a fortnight after the capture of New Amstel. He explained that it had been delayed by the disturbed condition of the Indians east of the Delaware, and further added: "We beg your endeavour to assist us in ye reconciliation of ye Indians called Synekees at ye Fort Ferrania and ye Huskchanoes [evidently Susquehannas] here, they coming and doing violence both to heathen and Christian, and leave these Indians to be blamed for it, insomuch that within less than six weeks several murders have been committed and done by their people upon the Dutch and Swedes here." The war of the Iroquois tribes with the Susquehannocks was still going on.

Colonel Nicolls came soon after to the Delaware, to inspect conditions there. Sir Robert Carr stayed on the river until February following, and then left finally, but his brother, Captain John Carr, remained, and was for several years in command at New Castle. The authority of Colonel Nicolls was exercised over the whole of what had been New Netherland. His residence, like that of the Dutch governors, was at New York. Conditions on the Delaware underwent little change. The Dutch had submitted of necessity, the Swedes no doubt very cheerfully; it was hardly in human nature for them to mourn the discomfiture of those who had in 1655 upset them so rudely. The policy of Nicolls was conciliatory and liberal. At Manhattan the Dutch, even including Stuyvesant, took the oath of allegiance to the English King, and D'Hinoyossa, who had retired to Maryland after the loss of his fort and government, wrote from St. Mary's a few weeks later, offering to do the same if he might have his New Amstel property restored. This, however, was not done; D'Hinoyossa remained in Maryland several years, having settled

[1]For the story of Plockhoy and his unfortunate colony, see Judge Pennypacker's "Germantown" (1899).

on Foster's island in Chesapeake Bay, now a part of Talbot county. In 1671 he petitioned the Maryland Assembly for naturalization for himself, wife and seven children. Later, he returned to Holland, and is said to have died there.

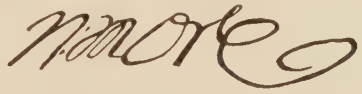
The governorship of Colonel Nicolls continued until midsummer of 1668. He had found his post a hard one. At the end of July, 1665, he wrote to the Secretary of State at London lamenting the low state of his affairs. There had been, then, though nearly a year was gone, "no ship or the least supplies

Signature of Tamanen, June 23, 1683

since the surrender." The soldiers and planters were in want. On the Delaware conditions were distressing; "all the planters on the river goe naked if not supplyed." Later he wrote that he had wholly exhausted his own means, in providing for the general service. Finally, after the conclusion of peace between England and Holland by the treaty of Breda (July, 1667), he was given permission to return to England, and was replaced in August, 1668, by Colonel Francis Lovelace. Colonel Nicolls is praised by all historical writers for his honest and fair administration; it may, therefore, be something to the credit of the Duke of York that he should have selected for his first governor in America so good a man. When he quitted New York Nicolls was escorted to the ship by "the largest procession of military and citizens" that had ever been seen there. On his return to England he was made a knight, and resumed his position in the Duke of York's household. In 1672, when again England and Holland were at war, Nicolls was killed May 29, in the terrific naval battle with DeRuyter, at Solebay, falling, it is said, "at the feet"

of the Duke of York. In the parish church at Ampthill, Bedfordshire, the place of his birth, is a white marble monument to him, enclosing the cannon-ball that killed him.

Reviewing briefly those events of Governor Nicolls's three years which affect the Delaware colonists, the total is meagre. One of his first acts had been to establish a code of laws. These, called "the Duke's Laws," were applied first to the New York Colony, but ultimately to that on the Delaware, also, and were in force there when William Penn took possession, in 1681. They



Signature of Nicholas More, speaker of the Assembly, 1684

had been selected from the codes of the other English colonies by the Governor and his Council, and submitted for approval to a convention of delegates from the New York "towns," held at Hempstead, on Long Island, March 1, 1664-5. On the whole, "the Duke's Laws" were fairly adapted to the place and people. They provided for freedom of religion, trial by jury, and equal taxation, though they recognized slavery, and established a general liability to military service. They were enforced on the Delaware, when they became operative there, by three "Courts," composed of justices commissioned by the Governor. These courts sat at New Castle, at the Horekill (as it now came to be called, a corruption of Hoorn Kill), and at Upland—later also at St. Jones, now in Kent county, Delaware. The Duke's Laws came slowly into use on the Delaware. In 1668 Governor Nicolls directed that the book be "shewed and frequently communicated" to the Councillors at New Castle, so as to be enforced "in convenient time." Gov. Lovelace ordered in 1672 that "ye English lawes bee established both in ye towne and all plantations upon Delaware river." Finally, in 1676 (Sept. 22), Gov. Andros issued an imperative order to put them in force.

After the first flurry of the change of rule there was little discrimination by the English against the old settlers. Peter Alrich, who had lost his property at the surrender, was licensed by Gov. Nicolls in November, 1665, to trade at the Horekill, "with the Indians or any others," and received a permit at the same time to go from New York to the Delaware, "with his servant and six horses." In February, 1667-8, Governor Nicolls further favored him by the grant of two islands in the Delaware, below the present town of Bristol—long since, by drainage, united with the fast land of the Pennsylvania shore. In May, 1668, Captain John Carr, commanding at the New Castle fort, was directed by Governor Nicolls to call in, "in civil matters, so often as complaint is made," the schout (sheriff) and five others, as a Council, these five being three Swedes, Israel Helm, Peter Rambo, and Peter Cock, and two Dutchmen, Hans Block and Peter Alrich. There were, in fact, so few Englishmen on the river that it was necessary to employ, even in places of trust, the Dutch and Swedes. A letter in March, 1670-71, to Governor Lovelace, alludes to the difficulties of "us few English, and none of us able to speake to the Indians."

Nothing of internal trouble had occurred in the colony until 1669, when in the summer one of the Finnish Swedes, probably living about Marcus Hook, where several Finns had located, stirred up a revolt, or attempted to do so. He gave himself out to be a son of Konigsmark, the Swedish general, who twenty years earlier had been renowned in the Thirty Years' War in Germany, but he was commonly known as "the Long Finn." Exactly what he designed or hoped to do is not very clear; the charge in substance was that of stirring up sedition. Gov. Lovelace wrote that he was informed that he "goes up and down from one place to another, frequently raising speeches very seditious and false, tending to ye disturbance of his Majesty's peace and ye lawes of ye Government." Another settler named Henry Coleman, "one of ye Finns," was charged with complicity, and it was

said that he had abandoned "his habitation, Cattle and Corne, without any care taken of them, to run after ye other person." Coleman was "well verst in ye Indian language," and he and the Long Finn were reported to be much among the Indians—this fact doubtless increasing the apprehensions of the settlers.

The fraudulent Konigsmark was soon arrested and imprisoned at New Castle. He attempted to escape, but was recaptured. Gov. Lovelace wrote to keep him "in hold and in irons" until he could be tried. There was some delay; the Governor proposed to come and hold the court, but was detained at New York. He wrote to Captain Carr and the Council to deal sharply with all involved in the threatened disturbance; "those of ye first magnitude" might be imprisoned or held to bail, and "for ye rest of ye poor deluded sort," he said, "I think the advice of their owne Countrymen is not to be despised, who knowing their temper well prescribe a method for keeping them in order, which is severity and laying such taxes on them as may not give them liberty to Entertaine any other thoughts but how to discharge them."

Gov. Lovelace censured Madam Papegoia for an alleged sympathy with the movement; it was, he thought, ungrateful after the favors that had been shown her; he perceived, also, he said, that "ye little dominie"—Carolus Lock, the Swedish minister—had "played ye Trumpeter to the discord." There is no account of any proceedings against Madam Papegoia, but the minister was subsequently fined 600 guilders.

As to the Long Finn, he was finally tried by a jury at New Castle before commissioners named by the Governor, and—of course—found guilty. He was sentenced to death, but the Governor and Council at New York modified the sentence, ordering that he "be publicly and severely whipt, and stigmatized or branded in the fface with the letter R"—for rebellion—and then sold "to the Barbadoes or some other of those remoter plantations." All of which was strictly carried out; the Finn was

taken to New York in December, 1669, and confined there in the state-house until January 26, 1669-70, when he was placed on board a vessel, the *Fort Albany,* and sent to Barbados to be sold.

As for those charged with complicity, fines more or less heavy, ranging from fifty guilders to two thousand, were imposed upon them. Coleman was fined 930 guilders, and appears later to have been in good standing in the colony.

The service of Lovelace extended to August, 1672—ending then with the advent of hostile Dutch ships. In his five years the Delaware colony slowly extended up the river. Some grants of land were made north of the Pennsylvania line—one of these to Richard Gorsuch in 1670-71 for a large tract on Pennypack and Poquessing creeks, which in 1672 came into the possession of Lovelace himself. The east bank of the river, from "the Falls" down, became well known at every point, for messengers and others passing overland between New York and New Castle often, perhaps usually, took this route. Gov. Lovelace passed by this path, in some state, with a party of soldiers, in March, 1671-2, and in the autumn of that year also, a more famous man, George Fox, the Friend or Quaker preacher.

In Fox's journal we get some descriptions that are of interest. He and his companions had ridden through the New Jersey woods from Shrewsbury. The journal says:

"We went to Middletown Harbour . . . in order to take our long journey . . . through the woods toward Maryland; having hired Indians for our guides. I determined to pass through the woods on the other side of Delaware Bay, that we might head the creeks and rivers as much as possible. On the 9th of the 7th month [November] we set forward, and passed through many Indian towns, and over some rivers and bogs; and when we had rode about forty miles, we made a fire at night, and lay by it. . . Next day we travelled fifty miles, as we computed; and at night, finding an old house which the Indians had

MISSIVE
VAN
WILLIAM PENN,
Eygenaar en Gouverneur van
PENNSYLVANIA,
In AMERICA.

Geschreven aan de Commissariissen van de Vrye Societeyt der Handelaars, op de selve Provintie, binnen London residéerende.

BEHELSENDE:

Een generale beschrijvinge van de voornoemde Provintie: te weten / van haare Gronden / Lucht / Water / Saisoenen en 't Product / soo uyt de natuur als door het bouwen / nessens de groote vermeerderinge of meenighbuldinge / welke het Land aldaar uytgevende is.

Als mede: van de Naturellen of Inboorlingen des Landts / haer Taal / Gewoontens en Manieren / haar Spijsen / Hupsen of Wigwams / Wildheyt / gemackelijcke manier van leven / Medicijnen / manieren van Begraaffenis / Godsdienst / Offerhanden en Gesangen / haar Hoogefeesten / Regeeringe / en oorde in hare Raden / wanneer sy met yemandt handelen ofte het verkoopen van Landerijen / &c. Mevens hare Justitie / of Recht doen ofte quaatdoenders.

Mitsgaders een Bericht van de eerste Colonierg de Hollanders / &c. En van de tegenwoordige toestant en welgesteltheyt van de voornoemde Provintie en Rechtbanken / &c. aldaar.

Waar by noch gevoeght is een Beschrijving van de Hooft-Stadt

PHILADELPHIA.

Nu onlangs uytgeset, en gelegen tusschen twee Navigable Rivieren, namentlijk: tusschen *Delaware* en *Schuylkil*.

Ende een verhaal van de voorspoedige en voordeelige standt van saken van de voornoemde Societeyt binnen de voornoemde Stadt en Provintie / &c.

AMSTERDAM,
Gedrukt voor JACOB CLAUS, Boekverkooper in de Prince-straat, 1684.

Title page of Dutch Book to influence immigration to Pennsylvania

forced the people to leave, we made a fire and stayed there, at the head of Delaware Bay."

The place thus reached was Jegou's (afterward called Chygoe's) Island, a part practically of the New Jersey shore. Here Peter Jegou, a Frenchman, had acquired a right, and had built a log house as a "house of entertainment for ye accommodation of Travelers." It is the site of the present town of Burlington. Governor Lovelace, arranging for his trip of the previous March, had given instruction to Captain Garland: "Go as speedily as you can to Navesink, thence to the house of Mr. Jegoe, right against Mattiniconck island, on Delaware river, where there are some persons ready to receive you." Previous to George Fox's journey it seems that the Indians had driven Jegou away. The journal proceeds:

"Next day we swam our horses over a river, about a mile, at twice, first to an island called Upper Dinidock, and then to the mainland; having hired Indians to help us over in their canoes."

"Upper Dinidock" is, of course, Mattiniconck, mentioned by Lovelace. It is the large island opposite Burlington, usually called Burlington island. This had apparently been in possession of Governor D'Hinoyossa, at the Dutch surrender in 1664, and had been seized by Sir Robert Carr. Later, 1668. Governor Lovelace seems to have given it in occupancy, if not ownership, to Peter Alrich. It was an important place, at the crossing of the river, and as a post for the Indian trade up the Delaware. Here, in September, 1671, two white men, servants of Alrich, were killed by Indians. The guilty parties were known, and one of them, Tashiowycan, explained that his sister had died, causing him great sorrow. The act, he believed, was caused by a "manitou," and in redress he had set out to kill the Christians.

Alrich reported the deed to Governor Lovelace and the Council, at New York. The Indians, he said, disowned and condemned the act, and proposed to punish the murderers. They

had suggested a plan for this: that the two be gotten to a "kintecoy"—cantico: frolic—and that "in the midst of the mirth" one hired for the purpose should "knock them i' the head."

A general attack upon the band, and perhaps on all the neighboring Indians, was proposed, but fortunately not undertaken. Peter Alrich gave his counsel. The "propper time," he told the Governor, to attack the Indians, "is within a month from this time"—the end of September—"for after that they'll break off their keeping together in a towne and goe a hunting, [and] soe bee separated."

Lovelace wrote an urgent letter to William Tomm on the subject, expressing the view that "ye vengeance of God will never forsake us till we avenge ye Blood of ye Innocent on ye contrivers' heads." He directed the magistrates to "sell no powder, shott, or Strong waters to the Indians, on paine of death," but keep a fair face toward them, as if no ill feeling existed, waiting a convenient time for the punitive expedition. The magistrates, however, in a meeting at Peter Cock's, earnestly advised a moderate policy. "Wee thinke," they wrote, "that at this time of the yeare itt is too late to begin a warr against the Indyans, the hay for our beasts not being brought to any place of safety, and so for want of hay wee must see them starve before our faces: the next yeare wee can cutt itt more convenient. Wee intend to make Towns at Passyunk, Tinnaconck, Upland, and Verdrieties Hoocke, whereto the out-plantations must retire. Your honor's advice for a frontier about Matinnicunck island is very good, and likewise another at Wicaquake, for the defense whereof your honor must send men. . . If possible there [should] be hired fifty or sixty north Indyans, who will doe more than 200 white men in such a warr."

With these views the Council at New York concurred. The season—November—being "not a good time" for war, they decided not to begin one. The settlers were urged to organize, and each to provide himself with a pound of powder and two

James II

Duke of York; King of England 1685-1689

pounds of bullets. The island, Mattiniconck, was ordered to be fortified—which almost certainly was not done.

The Indians themselves disposed of the case. A meeting with the chiefs was held at Peter Rambo's, and they undertook to bring in, "dead or alive," the two criminals. "Accordingly," says Samuel Smith, "two Indians sent by the sachems to take them, coming to Tashiowycan's wigwam in the night; one of them his particular friend; him he asked if he intended to kill him; he answered 'no, but the sachems have ordered you to die.' He demanded what his brothers—the other Indians of the band —said; being told they also said he must die, he then, holding his hands before his eyes, said 'kill me!' Upon this, the other Indian, not his intimate, shot him in the breast. They took his body to Wickaco [Philadelphia], and afterwards hung it in chains at New Castle. The English gave the sachems for this five matchcoats. The other murderer, hearing the shot, ran naked into the woods, and what came of him after appears not."

The journal of George Fox gives no sign of these or any Indian troubles. After his crossing the river at Matinniconck, quoted above, he proceeds:

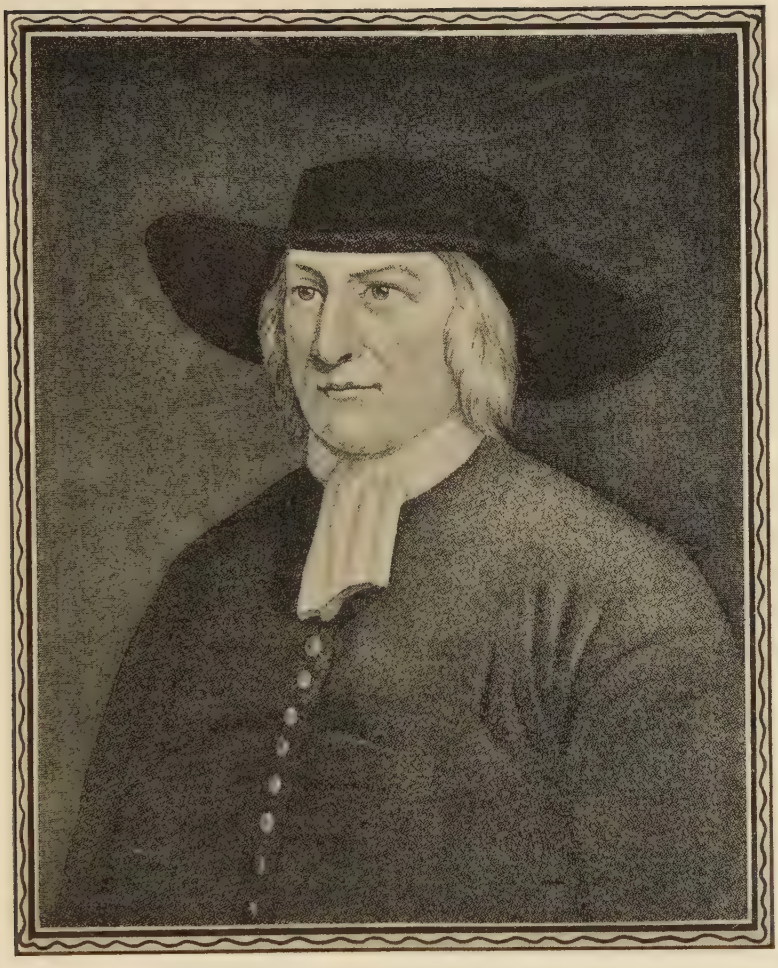
"This day [November 11, 1672] we could reach but about thirty miles, and came at night to a Swede's house, where we got a little straw, and stayed that night. Next day, having hired another guide, we traveled about forty miles through the woods, and made a fire at night, by which we lay and dried ourselves. . . The next day we passed over a desperate river, which had in it many rocks and broad stones, very hazardous to us and our horses. Then we came to Christiana river, where we swam our horses, and went over ourselves in canoes. . . Thence we went to Newcastle, . . and being very weary and inquiring in the town where we could buy some corn for our horses, the governor came and invited me to his house, and afterwards desired me to lodge there, saying he had a bed for me and I should be welcome."

Trade on the Delaware, in Lovelace's time, continued much as before. In June, 1671, Captain Carr requested the Governor and his Council to order that no ship be allowed to trade above New Castle, as it would ruin the town's trade, "those that goe up receiving ready payment in peltry or corn for their liquors, which they sell by retaile with ye small measure, or for their petty wares." This request was granted, but a year and a half later the restriction was removed, complaints having been made that some vessels had been allowed to go up, while others were refused, and

Signature of William Markham, deputy-governor, 1681-1682

the example of the Hudson, open to Albany, being cited. At the same time, June, 1671, it was asked that "ye distilling of Strong Liquor out of Corne, being ye cause of a great consumption of that Graine, as also of ye debauchery and idleness of ye Inhabitants, from whence inevitably must follow their Poverty and Ruine, bee absolutely prohibited or restrayned"—to which the answer was made that a license should be required to distill, and a tax be laid of one guilder per can, the proceeds to go to the building of "ye new block house, or fort, or some other publique building."

At intervals the Maryland Government made demonstrations to maintain their claims within the Delaware colony. The Horekill settlement especially drew forth these pressing attentions. In April, 1672, a surveyor came over and ostentatiously surveyed some lands there, threatening the people that if they did not acknowledge the authority of Lord Baltimore they would be "sent for into Maryland, there to be punished." In the summer of 1672 a more warlike demonstration was made. "One Jones," a Maryland man, rode into the Horekill town at the head of thirty men, and finding no opposition, "bound ye magistrates, and in-



George Fox

Founder of the Society of Friends; born 1624; died 1691

habitants, despitefully treated them, rifled and plundered them of their goods," and when it was demanded "by what authority" were these proceedings, answered with "a cock't pistol" to the breast of the imprudent questioner. Jones, Captain Cantwell wrote to Lovelace, seized "all Indian goods or skins" he could find, and an order was given "to drive a 20-penny nail in ye touch-hole of ye greate gun, & sees all ye guns and mill-stones."

Lovelace, of course, protested warmly to Governor Philip Calvert at such an outrage, and sent Captain Edmund Cantwell to St. Mary's with the letter. To the Duke of York he reported as well.

In the letter to Calvert, Lovelace added a reproach that deeds so unneighborly should be done "in these portending, boysterous times." He meant by these words the war that had begun in Europe. Then, and for many a long year, as we shall see, the people who were striving to build homes in the New World hung dependent on the politics of the Old. A quarrel there involved them here; whether it was to be peace or war for them they learned by ships which came slowly from Europe. In 1670 Charles II. abruptly changed the policy of England. He had helped to make, a little while before (1668), the Protestant Triple Alliance of England, Holland, and Sweden, to resist Louis XIV. of France, the Catholic king; but by the secret treaty of Dover (1670), he joined Louis to crush Holland, and check, if not root up, the Protestant growth.

The consequent war with Holland began in March, 1672. In August of that year Governor Lovelace wrote to Captain Cantwell to proclaim the King's declaration of war there and at Horekill. It was a terrifying time at the Capes, for the Maryland horsemen under Jones had just made their raid, and a "privateer," or more than one, probably flying the Dutch flag, had visited and plundered the place a few months before

The blow from Europe fell suddenly at New York, and Lovelace was taken by surprise. He was in Connecticut, on a

visit to Governor Winthrop, when, in August, 1673, a Dutch fleet appeared before the city. It was of overwhelming strength —twenty-three ships, counting prizes, and sixteen hundred men. Effective resistance, as in 1664, was impossible. The fort capitulated, New York became a Dutch city, and Lovelace returned to find himself deposed from office and ruined in estate. The two commanders of the Dutch ships, Cornelius Everts, "the Younger," and Jacob Binckes, settled affairs anew, appointed Captain Anthony Colve Governor, and sprinkled a fresh set of Dutch names liberally on town and country.

Signature of Arthur Cooke, speaker of the Assembly, 1689

The Delaware colony made no resistance; the English were too few, the Dutch too pleased, the Swedes too indifferent. The magistrates repaired early in September to New Orange—recently New York—and in Fort William Hendrick—recently Fort James—"made their submission." Peter Alrich was appointed schout and commander on South river, and by a series of orders everybody and everything was confirmed as it had been, the Upland Court being continued, with jurisdiction from Christina "upwards unto the head of the river."

This episode of the restoration of Dutch rule lasted a little more than a year. By the treaty of Westminster, February 9, 1673-4, Holland restored New Netherland to England, and early in July (1674), proclamation of the treaty was made at the City Hall in New York. The news came over to the Delaware soon, and once more the colonists made the change of allegiance. Many of them had been once under the crown of Sweden, twice under the Netherland High Mightinesses—not to speak of the burgomasters of Amsterdam—and now twice under his Majesty,

Charles the Second. They accepted this change as they had the others.

The crown lawyers of England held that by the conquests of war the Duke of York had lost his title, and that the treaty of Westminster conveyed New Netherland not to him, but to the King. Charles therefore gave him, June 29, 1674, a new patent with enlarged authority. A little later the Duke appointed a new governor, a man famous for years afterward, in the colonial history of America, Major Edmund Andros.

Major Andros appeared at New York at the end of October, 1674. Colve surrendered authority to him, and by proclamation absolved all from their allegiance to the Dutch Government. On the 31st Governor Andros reinstated in office those who had been magistrates on the Delaware at the time of the Dutch capture the previous year, Peter Alrich excepted, "he having proffered himself to the Dutch at their first coming, and acted very violently as their chief officer ever since." In May of the next year (1675), the Governor, accompanied by a "numerous retinue," came from New York to visit the Delaware settlements. At New Castle, on the 13th, he held an Indian Council, four chiefs from the east side of the river attending. They presented him with two belts, "fifteen and twelve wampum big," in return for which he gave them "four coates and four lap-cloathes." The gratitude of the chiefs was duly expressed; the record says: "They returned thanks and fell a-kintecoying, singing *kenon! kenon!*" At the same time a court was held and cases tried; a church was ordered to be built, by general taxation, at Wicaco, and that on Tinicum Island designated "to serve for Upland and parts adjacent." The penalty for selling strong liquors to the Indians "by retayle, or less than two gallons," was fixed at five pounds, and distillation of corn or grain was forbidden, under the like penalty. "A ferry boate" was ordered "to be mantayned at the Falls, on the west side," a horse and man to pay two guilders for ferriage, and a man without a horse ten stivers.

The administration of Governor Andros continued nearly seven years. He returned to England—to justify himself to the King, as to various matters, especially a controversy with Gov. Philip Carteret of East New Jersey—in 1681, leaving Captain Anthony Brockholls acting governor. His administration followed in the main the lines of Nicolls and Lovelace. It was a personal government, strictly; the Governor was the source and origin of all authority, legislative, executive, and judicial. Nothing approaching popular government, in the modern sense, was yet in view in the Delaware colony. Yet it is true that in a simple, primitive way, the people kept their own peace, administered their own justice, and directed the ordinary course of daily affairs.

This was done by the magistrates of the "Courts." Taking, now, for particular attention, the Court which usually sat at Upland (Chester)—the only one in Pennsylvania, at this period—we have its records complete from November 14, 1676, to the transfer of the province to William Penn in June, 1681. These disclose many particulars of the settlers' lives. The business transacted by the Court had a wide range. It heard and decided charges of misdemeanor, and had suits for debt, approved the indentures of apprentices and "servants," conferred with the Indians, laid taxes and imposed fines, and directed the uses to which the revenues should be applied. It granted lands, under the regulations fixed by the Governor, and heard and adjusted disputes as to titles and lines, made provision for roads, and for insane persons—gave oversight, in fact, to all affairs of the settlers.

The Upland Court justices were for several years all Swedes. As appointed by Governor Andros in 1676, and then freshly commissioned, they were Peter Cock, Peter Rambo, Israel Helm, Lace Andries, Oele Swen, and Otto Ernest Cock. These were old settlers. Isaac Helm was the chief interpreter to the Indians. Peter Cock and Peter Rambo were two of the four magistrates who met Governor Stuyvesant at Tinicum, in 1658, "with a petition for various privileges." Rambo and Helm were

both living as late as 1693. Oele Swen was one of the patentees of the land at Wicaco, in 1664, and the family's houses and woods there formed part of Philadelphia as laid out for Penn in 1681.

Accounts in money were stated in the Dutch silver coins, guilders and stivers.[1] For keeping the Court in his house at Upland, and the "dyet" of the justices, a year, Neeles Laersen was allowed 452 guilders, or $37.66. But many accounts were stated in terms of traffic and barter. Edmund Cantwell sued John Ashman for 800 pounds of tobacco for surveying two tracts of land, and some fees. Lace Cock also sued Ashman—who appears to have become insolvent and eloped—for "sixteen ells of serge," payment for a black horse "as also a mare." John Stille claimed of Ashman twelve hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco, "to be paid in Choptank river, in Maryland," admitting an offset of "foure yards of course kersey." The "widow of Thom: Jeacocx" further sued the much-indebted Ashman for one thousand pounds of tobacco, the price of a horse sold him, "to be paid in goods as they cost in Maryland," deducting "8 Ells of Lockrum, and 4 Ells of blew linnen." James Sanderlins sued John Edmunds "of Maryland," on a "bill" for "1200 lb. of good and merchantable Tobacco and Caskes too be paid in Great Choptank river in Maryland." He asked an attachment on a "certaine great Boate or shiallup," which was granted, and the "vendu master" ordered to sell the boat and its appurtenances "this Courtday to the most bidders," which being done, John Test bought it for 625 guilders, "to be paid in New Castle in merchantable tobacco in casks, or tar at eight stivers a pound, or wheat at five guilders a schepel."

[1]A guilder is commonly supposed to have been equal to forty cents, and a stiver two cents, American money. But it is evident that in 1676-81 the value placed on these coins was much less. The Upland Court, March, 1679-80, in a judgment on a suit for debt, awarded 2,700 stivers as equal to 3 pounds, 7 shillings, 6 pence (being 810 pence), so that a penny was equal to 3 1-3 stivers. This is confirmed by another award the same day of 3,500 stivers as equal to 4 pounds, 7 shillings, 6 pence (1,050 pence), and by the statement of the Court, June, 1680, "5 pounds, or 200 guilders." A guilder was therefore 6 pence, or 20 stivers, and counting a penny as two cents, a guilder was 12 cents of our money, and a stiver six-tenths of a cent—6 mills.

Education appears in at least one suit. Edmund Draufton demanded of Dunck Williams, who lived probably at Passyunk, 200 guilders for teaching defendant's children "to Read one

William Penn's Chair

Yeare." In this case Richard Ducket testified "hee was present at ye makeing of ye bargaine," and that it was agreed that Draufton "should Teach Dunkes Childeren to Read in ye bybell, and if hee could doe itt in a yeare, or a halfe yeare, or a quarter," he was to receive the two hundred guilders. The Court held his claim

good. Edmund Draufton, we may note as we pass, was the first tutor or teacher in Pennsylvania, of whom we have account.

The selling of "servants" for a term of years is recorded in several cases. "Anthony Nealson Long brought into Court a certayne man servant named William Goaf, whoeme hee has bought of Moens Petersen for the full term of three years servitude, the sd William Goaf being present in Court did owne the same, and did faithfully promise to serve his said master honestly, and truely ye abovesd Terme of 3 years." Again: "Mr. John Test brought

Signature of John Blackwell, deputy-governor, 1688-1690

in Court a certaine man servant named William Still, being a taylor by traede, whome hee did acknowledge to have sold unto Capt. Edmund Cantwell for the space and terme of foure yeares." Benjamin Goodman petitioned the Court to be discharged from service. He had been sold "by Mr. Charles Ballard, of ye province of Maryland unto Oele Swenson of this river," for three years, which term had expired, but Swenson denied him his freedom. The Court granted the petition. Attorney for Daniel Juniper "of Accomacq," Virginia, appeared in Court and declared he had sold to Israel Helm "a certayne man servant" named William Bromfield, "for ye terme and space of four years," for 1,200 guilders—which the Court confirmed. Peter Bacon, who had sued Captain Christopher Billop for 1,080 guilders for the use of a horse, taken from Passyunk to Billop's plantation on Staten Island and worked there four months till he was in a "sad and poore condition," and for other charges, obtained a judgment against the defendant, and levied on his "servant," Justa Justassen, who was "in the hands of Lasse Cock." Three appraisers found the remaining time of the man's service worth 650 guilders, so Bacon recovered that much on his claim.

The Court adjusted numerous suits in an amicable way. Albert Hendrics complained of Andries Bertles that he had killed his "boare, with a gun." The defendant said the animal was "so cruell that no man could passe without danger." The Court recommended them "mutually to compose the business between themselves." Oele Oelson abused and assaulted ("so that his shirt was all torne in peeces"), the estimable Israel Helm, a justice of the Court—to the great scandal of every one. Oelson was ordered to pay a fine of 150 guilders, and "humbly ask forgiveness of Justice Israel Helm and the Court." This was "openly done by the sd Oele," and then the Court and Sheriff "considering that he was a poor man with a great charge of children," remitted the fine, "upon his humble submission." Neeles Laersen complained of John Test that the latter had been "troublesome to his son about a knyf," and desired "to know the reason of the same." They were urged "to be friends and forgive one the other," to which they agreed. Hans Petersen and the "dominie," the Lutheran minister, Laurentius Carolus, had a suit about a mare, but they arranged it themselves, dividing the costs. Claes Cram sued Hans Petersen for defamation, the latter having called him "a theef," and charged him with acquiring "all his riches" by robbery. Hans was unable to justify his charges and was ordered to "openly declare himself a Lyar," in the Court, further to "declare the plaintiff to bee an honest man," and pay, besides, a fine and costs of suit—all of which he appears to have done.

Such are some of the cases before the justices at Upland in that day. There were others more serious, but none is recorded of a grade above ordinary misdemeanors. "Differences" arose, in numerous cases, from one of the parties being "in liquor." The Court's proceedings bear the mark of simple dignity and plain justice.

Interesting almost above all other business was the poll-tax laid by the Court in November, 1677. This is the first general tax of which we have a complete record, though others have been

mentioned in preceding pages of this history. The Court's minutes say:

"The Court takeing into consideracon the Levy or Pole money for the defraying of the publicq Charges whereof the acct. was made upp the Last Court, and calling over the List of the Tydable persons in their jurisdiction, doe find that for the payment of the sd charges from every tydable prson must be collected and received the sume of twenty and six guilders, to be paid in either of the following species (viz.) wheat at fyve, rey and barley at four gilders pr scipple,[1] Indian Corne at three gilders per scipple; Tobacco at 8 styvers per pound; porke at 8 and bacon at 16 styvers per pound; or else in wampum or skins at current prices."

The "high Sherrife," Captain Edmund Cantwell, was directed to collect the tax from the list of persons furnished him by the Court, and was authorized to distrain upon the property of any refusing payment. He was to return his account to the Court before March 25 (New Year day) next ensuing, and was to have "5 shillings in the pound"—twenty-five per cent.—commission on his collections.

The "List of Tydable persons" within the Court's jurisdiction, from Christina creek to the Falls of the Delaware, has much historic interest. It contains 136 names, residing as follows: In the district of Tacony, which included Philadelphia and all north of it, 65; at Carkoen's Hook (the settlers on Darby creek and as far west as Cobb's creek), 10; at Calkoen's Hook (between Cobb's and Crum creeks), 15; at Upland, 19; at Marreties (Marcus) Hook, 19; and on the east bank of the Delaware (in New Jersey), 10.

It will be seen that excluding the New Jersey names rather more than half of the whole number were in the Tacony district.

[1]"Scipple"—schepel, a bushel. This would be sixty cents for wheat, forty-eight for rye and barley, thirty-six for corn. The tobacco and pork would be 4.8 cents a pound, and the bacon 9.6 cents.

The number south of the Pennsylvania line must have been very small, as there were but nineteen altogether at Marcus Hook, and below. The list includes all males between the ages of sixteen and sixty, except a few officials, justices of the courts and others, who were exempt from such tax. The whole number of white persons, of all ages and both sexes, on the west bank of the Delaware, within the present State of Pennsylvania, at this time, might be estimated at from four hundred to five hundred.

Sheriff Cantwell made his return to the Court sitting "att the house of Justice Peter Cock, in ye Schuylkill," on the 3d of

Signature of Joseph Growdon, member of the Assembly, 1690

April, 1678. He was allowed for seven "tydables" who were "not Lyable to pay." He returned, therefore, for 129 taxable persons at 26 guilders per head, 3,354 guilders, on which he was allowed 884 guilders as his commission. The net proceeds he was directed to pay to sundry persons, including Neeles Laerson, for entertaining the Court, 639 guilders; Lacey Cock for expenses of the Commander (Captain John Collier), and the Seneca Indians, in the spring of 1677, 250 guilders; bounty on wolves' heads, 420 guilders; Ephraim Herman, clerk of the Court, for several "extraordinary services," 200 guilders; Justice Israel Helm, "for his severall services to ye Contry as Interpreter about ye Indians," 400 guilders.

The names upon the tax list are with rare exceptions those of Swedes. A few English names, however, had begun to appear, nearly all at Upland. One of those living there was Robert Wade. He came from London, with the Salem, N. J., settlers, on the ship *Griffith*, in 1675, and bought in March of that year from Madam Papegoia the "Printzdorp" property, and another

A Short

DESCRIPTION

OF

Pennſilvania,

Or, A Relation What things are known, enjoyed, and like to be diſcovered in in the ſaid Province.

[illegible] of England.

By Richard Frame.

Printed and Sold by William Bradford in Philadelphia, 1692.

Title page of English book to induce Immigration to Pennsylvania

Photographed especially for this work by J. F. Sachse from the only known original in Philadelphia Library

tract—which she had just bought of Neils Mattson—making 560 acres in all. He called his home "Essex House." Another at Upland was James Sandelands. (The entry on the List is "James Sanderling and slave.") He was probably a Scotchman, and had come to the Delaware as one of the Duke of York's soldiers, at least as early as 1668. He married Ann, the daughter of Urien Keen, one of the Swedish immigrants who came with Printz, in 1643, and becoming a large landholder and prosperous man. Another at Upland was John Test, a merchant, "of London," who had lately come. Richard Noble, who was appointed surveyor for the Delaware, in succession to Walter Wharton, at the death of the latter, in 1678, is also recorded at Upland, as is Richard Bovington, obviously an Englishman. Under Tacony is entered "Mr. Jones, the hatter."

The payments to Lacey Cock and Israel Helm in connection with the Indians are an index to a passage of Indian history which may be here mentioned. The Susquehannas, after their overthrow by the Iroquois—chiefly the Seneca tribe—had become scattered. In the Council at New York, August 4, 1676, it was resolved "to write to Captain Cantwell still to encourage the coming in of those Indians," but, until they came, "not to promise or engage anything to them, but, if they desire it the Governor will endeavor the compromise of all things in Maryland, and endeavor a peace with the Maques [Mohawks] and Sinekes, after which the sd Indyans may return to their land as they shall think good." Temporarily, those who came in might be placed at the Falls, "or the middle of the river, at Delaware"—i. e. New Castle. Captain John Collier—successor to Capt. John Carr as "Commander"—was ordered to carry a letter of Governor Andros to the Maryland government, and confer about the Susquehannas. If Maryland would not receive them, he might say that Andros was willing to do so.

In the following year, April (1677), the Council at New York wrote to Captain Collier: "If the Susquehannas in any

part of ye Government your way will come hither (as was told them last year), and resolve to leave off ye Warre, they shall have a convenient place assigned them to their content, or may go and live with ye Maquas or any other our Indyans," or "go back where they will." But they were not to be allowed to live on the South river, and the river Indians were not to suffer their doing so, "it being dangerous for both."

Connected with these letters is a minute of a special meeting of the magistrates of the Upland Court with the "Commander,"

Signature of William Clarke, member of Provincial Council, 1682; speaker of Assembly, 1692

Captain Collier, at Upland, March 13, 1676-7, "upon the news of the Sineco Indians comming downe to fetch the Susquehannas that were amongst these River Indians." It was resolved, "upon the motions of Rinowehan, the Indian Sachomore," that Capt. Collier and Justice Helm "goe up to Sachamexin [Shackamaxon], where at present a great number of Simico and other Indians are, and that they endeavor to persuade the Simecus, the Susquehannos, and these River Indians to send each a Sachomore or Deputy to his Honor the Governor att New Yorke, and that Justice Israel Helm goe with them."

Drawing on, now, toward the time of William Penn's great grant, there were increasing evidences of new life on the Delaware. The tide of English immigration to the east bank of the river, so long almost unoccupied, testified to an awakened interest in the country. The settlements at Salem in 1675, and Burlington in 1677, stirred the settlers on the west side. Many new grants of land were asked for in the Upland Court, from 1677 onward, the

majority by Swedes, but others by men of English blood. Though these grants were mostly near the Delaware, some were on the Schuylkill, and one of 300 acres "att ye place called Wiessahitkonk," the Wissahickon of later day. Julian Hartsfelder got a patent from Gov. Andros, in 1676, for 350 acres in what is now Philadelphia. Elizabeth Kinsey, daughter of John Kinsey, of the Burlington company, appeared in March, 1678, as a landowner at Shackamaxon, where afterward she and her husband, Thomas Fairman, the surveyor, lived, near the place of the Great

Signature of Benjamin Fletcher, captain-general and governor-in-chief, 1693

Treaty with the Indians. Other English names come into the record—William Clayton, at Marcus Hook, William Warner, on the Schuylkill, William Woodmancy at Upland. In the commissions of the Justices of Upland Court, in May, 1680, there were two English appointments, Henry Jones and George Browne—the latter living at the Falls. William Biles also settled at the Falls, and was appointed to various offices there, including that of constable and "surveyor and overseer of the highways from the Falls to Poetquessing creek." We shall hear of him later.

The detachment of the settlers above the Christina—forming the Pennsylvania community—became more definite in the time of Andros. The jurisdiction of the Court at Upland was more carefully marked. November 12, 1678, the record says:

"The limits and division between this and New Castle County were this day agreed upon and settled by this Court and Mr. John Moll, president of New Castle Court, to bee as followeth, viz.:

"This county of Upland to begin from the north side of Oele Fransen's Creeke, otherwise called Steenkill, lying in the boght

above ye Verdrietige hoeck, and from the said creek over to ye singeltree point on the Eastsyde of this river."

The line between the two jurisdictions—Upland and New Castle—had been the Christina creek, but the line now drawn left the settlers about Christina to attend at New Castle, which was obviously more convenient. The "Steenkill," or Stony creek, at Oele Fransen's, was the stream later known as Quarryville creek, in the present State of Delaware, nearly four miles below the mouth of Naaman's creek. "Single tree Point," on the New Jersey shore, has been known as Oldman's Point, a mile below the mouth of Oldman's creek.

The designation "county" became commonly employed. The Upland record says (March 10, 1679-80), Richard Noble produced his commission as "Surveyor of this County." In June, 1680, it is minuted that: "In regard that Uplande Creeke, where ye Court hitherto has sate is att ye lower end of ye County, the Court therefore, for ye most care of ye people have thought fitt for ye future to sitt and meet att ye Towne of Kingsess, in ye Schuylkills."

The details already given will fairly describe the conditions surrounding the settlers at the close of the pioneer period. A few more may be briefly given. There were as yet no roads—simply paths for horses and foot-passengers, and cartways where merchandise was to be transported. Where these ran through the woods, as was frequent, they were marked by "blazed" trees, which travellers found it difficult to follow. In November, 1678, the Court "ordered that every person should within the space of two months as far as his land reaches, make good and passable ways from neighbor to neighbor, with bridges where it needs, to the end that neighbors on occasion may come together." But there were certainly no bridges soon built, notwithstanding this order; the fording of the streams was for a long time one of the greatest difficulties and dangers to travellers. In October, 1680, the Court decided it necessary to ap-

point "overseers of highways and roads, and overseers and viewers of bridges throughout this county," and made selections accordingly. Six months later, John Champion was fined twenty-five guilders, on the complaint of the overseer of the roads, "for his not working upon ye highway when due warning was given him."

The provision of mills, as well as roads and bridges, was a matter of concern. The "Swedes' Mill," on Cobb's creek, set up by Printz, in 1643, continued for many years in use, and grain was carried long distances to be ground there. Complaint was made to Upland Court in March, 1667-8, that people were "dayly takeing up of land neare the mill," and it "would be left destitute of any land to gett timber for ye use of ye said mill," so the Court ordered one hundred acres to be laid out on the west side of the creek for the mill's use. The Dutch settlers at Christina had a mill on Shellpot creek—"Turtle Kill"—near the present city of Wilmington. In November, 1678, Upland Court granted Jan Schoeten "a small quantity of marrish att ye place called Hans Moensen's great mill fall," the quantity to be enough to "cut four stacks of hay," and at the same time, considering it "very necessary that a mill be built in the Schuylkill," designated this stream of Moensen's as the place, he promising to erect a mill. The stream was Mill Creek, which enters the Schuylkill below Woodlands Cemetery, Philadelphia. The English settlers on the east bank of the Delaware were provided for by Mahlon Stacy, who built in 1679 a log mill on the south bank of the Assunpink, where Trenton now stands. To this mill the Bucks county settlers took their grain in canoes across the river, in this early time.

The condition of the people in respect to ministry and churches was necessarily poor. There was a church of the Dutch Reformed faith at New Castle, to the charge of which Petrus Tesschenmaker, a young "licensed bachelor in divinity" from Utrecht, was inducted in the autumn of 1678. He preached there some three years, then went to Staten Island, and thence

to Schenectady, where in the attack by the French and Indians, in 1690, he was killed. The Swedes, after the departure of Risingh in 1653, had but one minister on the river, the man who was variously called Laers, Laurentius Carolus, Lock, Lokenius, etc.,

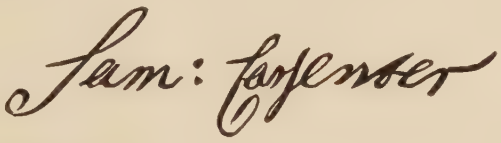
Great Meeting House, Philadelphia

Erected at Second and High streets in 1695, and "great" as it then was, it was taken down in 1755 to be made "greater." In 1808, the building was sold and afterwards demolished.

a poor fellow whose missteps and mischances, moral lapses and legal misdemeanors are repeatedly mentioned in the scanty chronicle of the time. He preached in the church at Tinicum island that Printz built, and at Crane Hook, between Christina and New Castle, where a log church was built about 1667. In 1672 another Lutheran minister came to the Delaware, Jacobus Fabritius. He had trouble with the authorities, and was suspended, but in

1677 came to have charge in the block-house church at Wicaco, where he preached his first sermon on Trinity Sunday of that year. This church at Wicaco was the second place of public worship in Pennsylvania—Tinicum only preceding it—and the first place in Philadelphia. Fabritius continued a pastor for fourteen years, until about 1691, but was totally blind from 1682. He died in 1693. Lock had died in 1688.

At the close of the year 1680—in March, according to the old calendar—the pioneer period was ending. The hardships



Signature of Samuel Carpenter, assistant in Government under Markham, 1695

of the earliest beginnings were over. They had been, on the whole, small when compared with what the first settlers elsewhere in the eastern colonies of America had endured. No destructive war, no deadly conflicts with the natives, no pestilence, no famine, had visited the Delaware settlements. There had been the usual diseases of a new country, there had been scanty food, coarse apparel, and rude shelter, there had been loneliness and homesickness, but on the whole the experience of over seventy years, since Hudson looked inside the capes' door, had served to show that here, without great cost in life or treasure, the homes of a new commonwealth might be prosperously planted.

Far detached from the life of the settlers on the Delaware, an episode of romantic interest claims attention before we dismiss this period. It relates to the discovery of western Pennsylvania by white men. We have described the exploration by Champlain's guide, Etienne Brulé, in middle Pennsylvania, in 1615-16. We turn now to the probable discovery of the Allegheny and Ohio rivers by La Salle, in 1669.

That La Salle came in that year from Canada through New York, passed from the shore of Lake Erie by Chautauqua lake or a route further south to the headwaters of the Allegheny, descended that river to the Ohio, and passed down the Ohio to the Falls near Louisville, is a theory supported by evidence, and made very likely, if not fully proved. If he did make this journey at or about that time, he was, so far as history knows, the first white man to visit Pennsylvania west of the mountains, and his tour down the Allegheny and Ohio was the earliest exploration of those rivers by a European.

It may be stated briefly: (1) The French afterward claimed possession of western Pennsylvania, and based their claim upon the discovery of "the Ohio and its tributaries" by La Salle. (2) La Salle, in the period 1669-73, as in other years, was engaged in expeditions of discovery from Canada; as to all other years his movements are well known, but as to this period his own accounts are totally lost. (3) An account remains, however, published in Paris, probably in 1678, and derived, it is said, from a number of conversations by the author with La Salle. This contains a brief, and in some points geographically inaccurate, description of a tour like that outlined above—Lake Erie to the Allegheny, to the Ohio, to the Falls. (4) This account from the "conversations" receives confirmation in the memorial which La Salle himself addressed to Count Frontenac, French Governor of Canada, in 1677, in which he then declared that he had previously discovered the Ohio, and had descended it as far as a fall, which obstructed it. (5) It is further confirmed by maps which Louis Joliet, his rival, made, showing the region of the Mississippi and the Great Lakes; on each of them the Ohio is presented, and with the inscription that it was discovered by La Salle.

That it was he who first of all men descended the Ohio "may then be regarded as established," says Francis Parkman, than whom there is no higher authority on such a subject. But in our present discussion we should wish to know where he en-

tered the Ohio. Was it in northwestern Pennsylvania, over a portage between tributaries of Lake Erie and the Allegheny? Most likely. That furnishes an easy and natural route. It is the route which was afterward taken by the French from the Lakes to the Ohio valley. It is vaguely suggested in the "conversations" account. Such a route by La Salle would be needful, in order to give basis to the claim that he discovered the "tributaries" of the Ohio, as well as the main river.

It is pleasant to connect the discovery of the State's splendid western section with the name and fame of the intrepid French explorer—"the foremost pioneer of the Great West," as Parkman has named him. We believe it historically safe to do so.

But La Salle is further connected with Pennsylvania. The picturesque and striking episode of the building of the *Griffin,* in 1678-9, on the shore of Lake Erie, the voyage of the ship in 1679, and its disastrous and mysterious shipwreck, is a story which belongs to the waters that wash our northwestern shore, and whose tradition for more than two centuries has persisted there.

This, then, is the story of the *Griffin.* She was the first sail-vessel on the Great Lakes. Bent upon their further exploration, and a trade with the Indians which might enable him to repay those who had helped him equip his costly expeditions, La Salle built, at the mouth of Cayuga creek, on the Niagara river, six miles above the great cataract, a rude vessel of forty-five tons. In the spring of 1679 she was launched. "Five small cannon looked out from her port-holes; and on her prow was carved a portentous monster, the griffin, whose name she bore, in honor of the armorial bearings of Frontenac." It was August before La Salle, who had been forced to visit Canada meantime, to baffle importunate creditors and envious enemies, was ready to proceed; it was the seventh of that month when, having overcome the swift current of the Niagara river by towing, they entered the Lake, chanted the *Te Deum,* fired a salute of cannon, and "plowed the virgin waves of Lake Erie, where sail was never

seen before." They passed along the shore where Buffalo now stands, by the peninsula which in La Salle's language was for many a year called Presque Isle, where Erie is located, and so journeyed on to the West and the upper lakes. There, on an island at the entrance of Green Bay, La Salle loaded the vessel with the furs which his men had gathered, and decided to send her back to Niagara, where her cargo might appease his clamorous creditors, leaving him to press on in his explorations. "It was a rash resolution, for it involved trusting her to the pilot, who had already proved either incompetent or treacherous." On the 18th of September they parted, the *Griffin* eastward, he on his perilous way to Illinois. Baffled there, he built Fort Crevecœur, near where Peoria now stands, and returned in the winter, on foot, to Canada, asking anxiously for the *Griffin*. Where she was no one could tell him. She had disappeared! La Salle believed the pilot and crew had wrecked her, and escaped with the goods she carried to the Indians of the Northwest. Many other stories of her fate were told. But there is little doubt that she was lost, whether by design or accident, on the lake shore near where she was built. The Jesuits—enemies of La Salle—had a tradition that she was driven ashore in a gale, her crew killed by the Indians, and her goods plundered. Articles found imbedded in the sand, near Buffalo, a century or more after—an anchor, and rusted guns bearing French inscriptions—were thought to have belonged to the ill-fated ship.

DANKERS AND SLUYTER'S JOURNAL.[1]

17th, [*November, 1679*] *Friday.*— . . . Most of the English, and many others, have their houses made of nothing but clapboards, as they call them there, in this manner: they first make a wooden frame, the same as they do in Westphalia, and at Altona, but not so strong; they then split the boards of clapwood, so that they are like Cooper's pipe staves, except they are not bent. These are made very thin, with a large knife, so that the thickest end

[1] The journal of these men, Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter, has been referred to in the preceding chapter. They were from Frisia, in the Netherlands, and had become members of a communistic religious body in Germany, followers of Jean de Labadie.

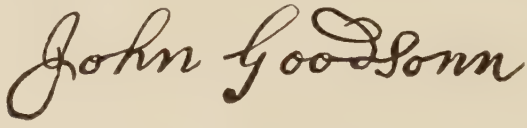
is about a *pinck* (little finger) thick, and the other is made sharp, like the edge of a knife. They are about five or six feet long, and are nailed on the outside of the frame, with the ends lapped over each other. They are not usually laid so close together as to prevent you from sticking a finger between them, in consequence either of their not being well joined, or the boards being crooked. When it is cold and windy, the best people plaster them with clay. Such are most all the English houses in the country, except those they have which were built by people of other nations. . .

18th, Saturday.—About ten o'clock, after we had breakfasted, we stepped into a boat, in order to proceed on our journey down the river. The ebb tide was half run out. . . We went along, then, moving with the tide; but as Ephraim was suffering with the quartan ague, and it was now its time to come on, we had to go and lie by the banks of the river, in order to make a fire, as he could not endure the cold in the boat. This continued for about an hour and a half. The water was then rising, and we had to row against the current to Burlington, leaving the island of *Matinakonk* lying on the right hand. This island formerly belonged to the Dutch governor, who had made it a pleasure ground or garden, built good houses upon it, and sowed and planted it. He also dyked and cultivated a large piece of meadow or marsh, from which he gathered more grain than from any land which had been made from woodland into tillable land. The English governor at the *Manathans* now held it for himself, and had hired it out to some Quakers, who were living upon it at present. It is the best and largest island in the South river; and is about four English miles in length, and two in breadth. It lies nearest to the east side of the river. At the end of this island lies the Quakers' village, Burlington, . . . As we were now at the village, we went up to the ordinary tavern, but there were no lodgings to be obtained there, whereupon we re-embarked in the boat, and rowed back to Jacob Hendricks', who received us very kindly, and entertained us according to his ability. The house, although not much larger than where we were the last night, was somewhat better and tighter, being made according to the Swedish mode, and as they usually build their houses here, which are block-houses, being nothing else than entire trees, split through the middle, or squared out of the rough, and placed in the form of a square, upon each other, as high as they wish to have the house; the ends of these timbers are let into each other, about a foot from the ends, half of one into half of the other. The whole structure is thus made, without a nail or a spike. The ceiling and roof do not exhibit much finer work, except among the most careful people, who have the ceiling planked and a glass window. The doors are wide enough, but very low, so that you have to stoop in entering. These houses are quite tight and warm; but the chimney is placed in a corner. My comrade and myself had some deer skins spread upon the floor to lie on, and we were, therefore, quite well off, and could get some rest. It rained hard during the night, and snowed and froze. . .

They had come to America to seek a place to which the Labadists might remove, and they ultimately secured from Augustine Herman a part of his great tract, the Bohemia Manor, in Maryland. The journal is harsh and censorious in tone (especially in referring to the Quakers), but describes the Delaware between Trenton and New Castle as it appeared in the early winter of 1679 better than any other document which remains to us.

19th, Sunday.—. . . At noon the weather improved, and Ephraim having something to do at Burlington, we accompanied him there in the boat. . . We tasted here, for the first time, peach brandy, or spirits, which was very good, but would have been better if it had been more carefully made. . .

20th, Monday.—We went again to the village this morning. . . It was almost noon before we left. The boat in which we had come as far as there with its owner, who intended to return in it, was exchanged for another, belonging to Upland, of which a Quaker was master, who was going down with several others of the same class. . . We arrived about two o'clock at the house of another Quaker, on the west side of the river, where we stopped to eat our dinner and dry ourselves. We left there in an hour, rowing our best against the flood tide, until, at dark, we came to *Takanij,* a village of Swedes and Fins, situated on the west side of the river. Ephraim being ac-



Signature of John Goodsonn, assistant in Government under Markham, 1695

quainted, and having business here, we were all well received, and slept upon a parcel of deer skins. We drank very good beer here, brewed by the Swedes. . . .

21st, Tuesday.—The tide falling, we set out with the day, and rowed during the whole ebb and part of the flood, until two or three o'clock, when we arrived at the island of *Tynakonk* [Tinicum] the fifth we had passed. *Mantinakonk* and this *Tinakonk,* are the principal islands, and the best and the largest. The others are of little importance, and some of them, whose names we do not know, are all meadow and marsh, others are only small bushes. . . This *Tinakonk* is the island of which M. Arnout de la Grange had said so much. . . It lies on the west side of the river, and is separated from the west shore . . . by a small creek, as wide as a large ditch, running through a meadow. It is long and covered with bushes, and inside somewhat marshy. It is about two miles long, or a little more, and a mile and a half wide. . . . The southwest point, which only has been and is still cultivated, is barren, scraggy, and sandy, growing plenty of wild onions, a weed not easily eradicated. On this point three or four houses are standing, built by the Swedes, a little Lutheran church made of logs, and the remains of the large block-house, which served them in place of a fortress, with the ruins of some log huts. This is the whole of the manor.

When we arrived at this island, we were welcomed by Mr. Otto [Ernest Cock] late *medicus,* and entertained at his house according to his condition, although he lives poorly enough. . . .

22nd, Wednesday.—It was rainy all this day, which gave us sufficient time to explore the island. We had some good cider which he had made out of the fruit from the remains of an old orchard planted by the Swedish governor. . . We saw an ox as large as they have in Friesland or Denmark, and also quite fat—a species of which we have observed more among the Swedes, and which thrive well. It clearing up towards evening, we took a

canoe and came after dark to Upland. This is a small village of Swedes, although it is now overrun by English. We went to the house of the Quaker who had brought us down, and carried the other persons from *Tinakonk*. . . .

23d, Thursday.—It was late before we left here, and we therefore had time to look around a little, and see the remains of the residence of Madam Papegay, who had had her dwelling here when she left *Tinakonk*. We had nowhere seen so many vines together as we saw here, which had been planted for the purpose of shading the walks on the river side, in between the trees. . . . When the meal [dinner] was finished, Ephraim obtained a horse for himself and his wife, and we followed him on foot, carrying our traveling bags. . . After we had proceeded about three hours, our guide missed the way, and we had gone a good distance before he became aware of it, and would have gone on still further if we had not told him that we thought the course we were going was wrong. We therefore left one road, and went straight back in search of the other which we at length found. A man overtook us who was going the same way, and we followed him. We crossed the *Schiltpadts kil* [Tortoise or Turtle creek], where there was a fall of water over the rocks, affording a site for a grist-mill which was erected there. This *Schiltpadts kil* is nothing but a branch or arm of *Christina kil*, into which it discharges itself, and is so named on account of the quantities of tortoises which are found there. Having crossed it we came to the house of the miller, who was a Swede or Holsteiner whom they usually call *Tapoesie*. . . .

24th, Friday.—Ephraim having some business here, we did not leave very speedily. This miller had shot an animal they call a muskrat, the skin of which we saw hanging up to dry. He told us they were numerous in the creeks. . . .. It was about noon when we were set across the creek in a canoe. We proceeded thence a small distance over land to a place where the fortress of Christina had stood which had been constructed and possessed by the Swedes, but taken by the Dutch Governor, Stuyvesant, and afterwards, I believe, demolished by the English. We went into a house here belonging to some Swedes, with whom Ephraim had some business. We were then taken over Christina creek in a canoe, and landed at the spot where Stuyvesant threw up his battery to attack the fort, and compelled them to surrender. At this spot there are many medlar trees which bear good fruit, from which one *Jaquet*, who does not live far from here, makes good brandy or spirits, which we tasted and found even better than Franch brandy. Ephraim obtained a horse at this *Jaquet's*, and rode on towards *Santhoek*, now Newcastle, and we followed him on foot, his servant leading the way. We arrived about four o'clock at Ephraim's house. . . .

25th, Saturday.—We rested a little to-day. Ephraim and his wife and we ourselves had several visits from different persons who came to welcome us, as *Mons. Jan Moll*, whom we had conversed with in New York, and who now offered us his house and all things in it, even pressing them upon us. But we were not only contented with our present circumstances, but we considered that we would not be doing right to leave Ephraim's house without reason. . . . Peter *Aldrix* also showed us much attention, as did others, to all of which we returned our thanks. We went out to view this little place, which is not of much moment, consisting of only forty or fifty houses. There is a fine prospect from it, as it lies upon a point of the river where I took a sketch.

26th, Sunday.—We went to the church, but the minister, Tessemaker, who has to perform service in three places, over the river, Newcastle, and *Apoquemene,* was to-day over the river, and there was, therefore, nothing done, except what was done by a poor limping clerk, as he was a cripple and poor in body. He read from a book a sermon, or short explanation, and sung and made a prayer, if it may be called such, and then the people went home. In the afternoon there was a prelection again about the catechism. . . . [From New Castle they went to Maryland, returning on the 15th of De-

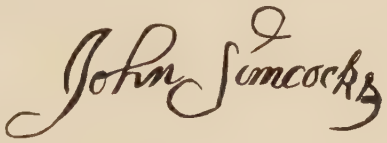
cember. They remained there ten days, finding it difficult to arrange for a boat up the river.]

[*December*] *25th, Monday.*—The weather being good, we spoke again to our Swedes, but they continued obstinate; and also to Jan Boeyer, but nothing could be done with him either. While we were standing on the shore talking with them about leaving, I saw coming down the river a boat which looked very much like that of the Quaker of Upland, as indeed it was. He landed at Newcastle and was going to Ephraim's house, where he had some business to transact, intending to leave the next day. We asked him if he was willing to take us with him, and he said, he would do so with pleasure.

26th, Tuesday.—All the letters having been collected together, which we were to take with us and deliver, and the Quaker having finished his business, we breakfasted together, and courteously took leave of all our acquaintances. . . . We will observe before leaving *Sand-hoek,* that it has always been the principal place on the South river, as well in the time of the English as of the Dutch. It is now called New Castle by the English. . . . Formerly all ships were accustomed to anchor here, for the purpose of paying duties or obtaining permits, and to unload, when the goods were carried away by water in boats or barks, or by land in carts. It was much larger

and more populous at that time, and had a small fort called Nassau; but since the country has belonged to the English, ships may no longer come here, or they must first declare and unload their cargoes at New York, which has caused this little place to fall off very much, and even retarded the settlement of plantations. What remains of it consists of about fifty houses, most all of wood. The fort is demolished, but there is a good block-house, having some small cannon, erected in the middle of the town, and sufficient to resist the Indians or an incursion of Christians; but it could not hold out long.

Returning now to our boat, it left about ten o'clock for a place a little higher up the river, where they had to take in some wheat, and where we were to go on foot, with the Quaker's wife. We reached it about noon, and found the boat laden, and lying high up on the land, so that we had to wait until the tide was half flood. We saw there a piece of meadow or marsh, which a Dutch woman had dyked in, and which they assured us had yielded an hun-



Signature of John Simcocks, speaker of the Assembly, 1696

dred for one, of wheat, notwithstanding the hogs had done it great damage. The boat getting afloat, we left about three o'clock, and moved up with the tide. The weather was pleasant and still, with a slight breeze sometimes from the west, of which we availed ourselves; but it did not continue long, and we had to rely upon our oars. We arrived at Upland about seven o'clock in the evening, and it was there only half flood, so much later does the tide make there than at New Castle. The Quaker received us kindly, gave us supper, and counseled with us as to how we should proceed further. . . .

27th, Wednesday.—It rained some during the night and it was very misty early in the morning. Before the tide served to leave, we agreed with this man who had brought us up, to send us in his boat to Burlington, with two boys to manage it, paying him twenty guilders for the boat, and three guilders a day to each of the boys for three days, amounting in the whole to thirty-eight guilders; but one of the boys wishing too much, he determined to take us up himself. A good wind coming out of the south, we breakfasted and dined in one meal, and left about ten o'clock, with a favorable wind and tide, though at times the wind was quite sharp. We sailed by *Tinakonk* again, but did not land there. It began at noon to rain very hard, and continued so the whole day, and also blew quite hard. We ran aground on the lee shore upon a very shallow and muddy place, from which we got off with difficulty. On account of this and other accidents, if we had had the boys it would have been bad for us. We arrived at *Wykakoe*, a Swedish village on the west side of the river, in the evening at dusk, where we went, all wet, into the house of one Otto, who had three children lying sick with the small-pox. We dried ourselves here partly. He gave us supper and took us to sleep altogether in a warm stove room, which they use to dry their malt in and other articles. It was very warm there, and our clothes in the morning were entirely dry.

28th, Thursday.—It was flood at daylight when we left. . . . . The weather was foggy, but when the sun had risen a little, it cleared away and became pleasant and calm. We therefore advanced rapidly, rowing with the tide, and reached *Takany* of which we have before spoken, about ten o'clock, and where we landed a person who had come up with us. We continued on, and as the tide just commenced rising there we had a constant flood tide with us to Burlington, where we arrived about two o'clock. We were put ashore on an island of Peter Aldrix, who had given us a letter of recommendation to a person living there, and working for him. We paid Robert Wade, who and his wife are the best Quakers we have found. They have always treated us kindly. He went immediately over to Burlington, where he did not stop long, and took the ebb tide and rowed with it down the river. . . .

The man who lived on this island was named Barent, and came from Groningen. He was at a loss to know how to get us on further. Horses,

Signature of John Blunston, speaker of the Assembly, 1697

absolutely, he could not furnish us; and there was no Indian about to act as a guide, as they had all gone out hunting in the woods, and none of them had been at his house for three weeks. To accompany us himself to *Achter kol* or the *Raritans* and return, could not be accomplished in less than four days, and he would have to leave his house meantime in charge of an Indian woman from Virginia, who had left her husband, an Englishman, and with two children, one of which had the small-pox, was living with him; and she could be of no use to any one, whether Indians or other persons who might come there. . . .

About three o'clock in the afternoon a young Indian arrived with whom we agreed to act as our guide, for a duffels coat which would cost twenty-four guilders in *zeewant,* that is, about five guilders in the money of Holland; but he had a fowling-piece with him which he desired first to take and have repaired at Burlington, and would then come back. He accordingly crossed over, but we waited for him in vain, as he did not return. The greatest difficulty with him was, that we could not speak the Indian language, and he could not speak a word of anything else. He not coming, we asked Barent if he would not undertake the task, which, after some debate, he consented to do. He arranged his affairs accordingly and prepared himself by making a pair of shoes or foot-soles of deer skin, which are very comfortable, and protect the feet. That was done in half an hour. We were to give him thirty guilders in zeewant, with which he was satisfied.

29th, Friday.—We breakfasted, and left about ten o'clock in a canoe, which set us on the west side of the river, along which a footpath runs a part of the way, in an east northeast direction, and then through the woods north northeast. We followed this path until we came to a plantation, newly begun by a Quaker, where we rested and refreshed ourselves. We agreed with this man, who came in the house while we were there, that he should put us over the river for three guilders in zeewant. We crossed

over about one o'clock, and pursued a footpath along the river, which led us to a cart road, and following that we came to the new grist-mill at the falls, which, in consequence of the great flow of water, stood in danger of being washed away. Crossing here, we began our journey in the Lord's name, for there are no houses from this point to *Peskatteway,* an English village on the Raritans. We had now gone twelve or thirteen miles from Peter Aldrix's island, and it was about two o'clock in the afternoon.

PASSAGE IN THE "CONVERSATIONS" ACCOUNT OF LA SALLE'S EXPEDITION OF 1669

"Cependant M. de la Salle continua son chemin par une rivière qui va de l'est a l'ouest; et passe à Onontaqué [Onondaga] puis à six ou sept lieues au-dessous du Lac Erié; et estant parvenu jusqu'au 280me ou 83me degré de longitude,et jusqu'au 41me degré de latitude,trouva un sault qui tombe vers l'ouest dans un pays bas, marescajeux, tous couvert de vielles souches, dont il y en a quelques-unes qui sont encore sur pied. Il fut donc contraint de prendre terre, et suivant une hauteur qui le pouvoit mener loin, il trouva quelque sauvages, qui luy dirent que fort loin de là le mesme fleuve qui se perdoit dans cette terre basse et vaste se réunnisoit en un lit. Il continua donc son chemin, mais comme la fatigue estoit grande, 23 or 24 hommes qu'il avoit memes jusque là le quittèrent tous en une nuit, regagnèrent le fleuve, et le sauvèrent, les uns à la Nouvelle Hollande, et les autres à la Nouvelle Angleterre. Il se vit donc seul à 400 lieues de chez luy, où il ne laisse pas de revenir, remontant la rivière, et vivant de chasse, d'herbes, et de ce que luy donnèrent les sauvages qu'il rencontra en son chemin."

[Meanwhile M. de la Salle continued his journey by a stream which flows from east to west, and passed Onondaga; then at a distance of six or seven leagues below Lake Erie, and having reached the 280th or 283d degree of longitude, and as far as the 41st degree of latitude, he found a waterfall, which falls toward the west into a region low, swampy, quite covered with old stumps, of which some are still standing. So he was forced to land, and following a ridge which promised to carry him far, he found a few savages who told him that very far from there the same river which disappeared in that wide low land united again in a bed. So he went on his way, but as the effort was very fatiguing, 23 or 24 men that he had led that far all left him, during the same night, went back to the river and decamped, some to New Holland, and others to New England. So he found himself alone at 400 leagues from home, when he lost no time in returning, re-ascending the stream, and living on game, on herbs, and on what the savages whom he met on the way gave him.]

CHAPTER VI

THE FOUNDER OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE personality of William Penn was woven into the fabric of his colony. It is hardly possible to sever the two, or to understand the one without a good knowledge of the other.

We return, therefore, to the year 1644, when Printz, newly arrived on the Delaware, was ruling the Swedish settlement from his capital on Tinicum Island, and the Dutch at Manhattan, in despair over the Indian war and the other evils of Kieft's directorship, were appealing pitifully to the mother-country for succor. In that year, in October, Captain William Penn, the commander of an English warship, was at London, under orders to proceed to the coast of Ireland to help fight the battle of the Parliament against Charles the First. Captain Penn was young for the rank he held; he was twenty-three. His family, the Penns, were from the west of England—originally perhaps, from Wales—and he had been born at Bristol, then one of the chief ports for English commerce. His wife was from Holland, Margaret Jasper, the daughter of John Jasper, a merchant of Rotterdam, and he had fixed his home in London, to the east of the old city, near the Tower. Here, on the 14th of October (1644), his first child was born.

This child, our William Penn, the Founder of Pennsylvania, was educated first at Chigwell, in Essex, a few miles northeast of London. But when he was about twelve, the family removed to

the south of Ireland, where Captain Penn had "estates" which Cromwell had given him—confiscated property of royalists. The boy was there some time in the charge of private tutors, but in 1660, when he was sixteen years old, he was sent a student to the University of Oxford. His father was now a vice-admiral of England, had been concerned in the restoration of the king, and had been made a knight.

The Oxford student, it soon developed, was quite a different person from the vice-admiral of the royal navy, though their relationship was that of father and son. Between Sir William Penn and our William Penn there was a marked divergence of character, as we shall in due time sufficiently see. The seeds of a new thought, of new life, of a revived and reformed society, were planted in the mind of the boy, to bring forth fruit later. In his childhood at Chigwell he had run and played in Hainault Forest, near by, and had even then experienced the "long, long thoughts" of his developing consciousness and conscience. He had received religious impressions, as he tells us, in his twelfth year—perhaps in Ireland after the removal thither. Coming now to Oxford, the seat of traditional "prerogative" in Church and State, at the very hour of the Restoration, when the triumph of the enemies of Puritanism was complete, he found much that shocked him—"darkness and debauchery," as he afterward described it—and his opposition to this soon brought him into a strait place.

The ordinary difficulties of a serious youth, inclined to dream dreams of reforming society, at Oxford in 1660, would have been sufficiently great, but in the course of his two years' stay there, young Penn increased them materially. He inclined to become a Quaker. We must pause a moment to consider what this implied. There was, in 1660, a new religious body gathering in England, by the preaching of George Fox, a man twenty years older than William Penn. He had begun his religious labors between 1646 and 1650, in the midland counties of England, and

at the Restoration the Friends, or Quakers, were well known in most courts and jails from Cornwall to Cumberland. At Oxford, Thomas Loe, a respectable citizen, was a preacher in the

Gloria Dei (Old Swedes') Church

small meeting which they ventured to hold there, and Penn, hearing him, was strongly influenced by his ministry.

The views of George Fox were far removed from those prescribed by and exemplified in the University of Oxford in the

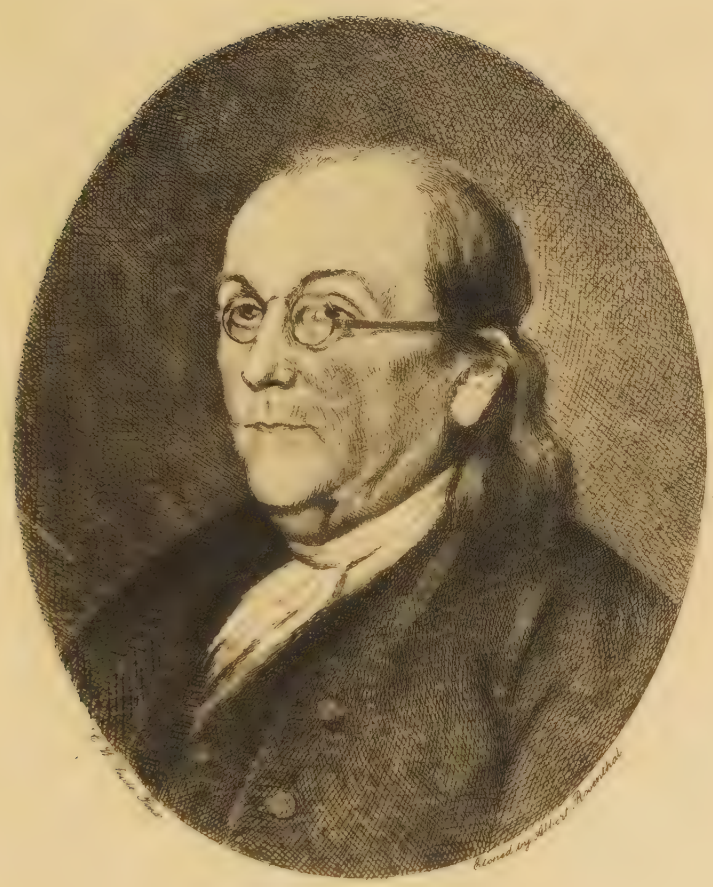
time of Charles the Second. Fox held and preached the doctrine of the Inner Light—an innate spiritual ability to be taught directly from God. Such a doctrine is subversive of ecclesiastical systems, and destructive no less to ritual and ceremonial. It is essentially a democratic doctrine, assuming the common and equal status of all men in the sight of their Maker. Moreover its logic leads to quietude of life, to a refined Puritanism of conduct—all of which was offensive indeed in the year 1660, in the University of Oxford. To have endured the Cromwellian régime had been bitterness, but to be confronted by a sect which carried even further the "levelings" of Puritanism, was not to be suffered. The Quaker preachers were therefore very commonly mobbed, and sometimes publicly whipped in that city. In 1654, two women, Elizabeth Heavens and Elizabeth Fletcher, "who came from the north of England to exhort the scholars in their colleges," were beaten and abused, and afterward "whipped forth" from the city, while others, men and women, including Thomas Loe and his wife, were imprisoned for preaching.

It resulted that for his general attitude of revolt against University conditions, and especially his refusal to "conform" to the established order in the Church, in 1662 young Penn was "banished the college," and concluded his studies there. His father was bitterly displeased. He had counted on his son's pursuing the course he had laid out—the path of promotion in rank and wealth which he had himself with good success followed; but the prospect now was that this expectation would be wholly frustrated by the youth's adopting views of religion and life which were fatal to a merely personal ambition.

After leaving Oxford, young Penn was sent by his father to travel on the continent; he studied theology awhile under an eminent Protestant teacher, Amyraut, at Saumur, in France, and proceeding farther on his tour, returned to London in 1664, having become somewhat influenced, probably, by his life abroad. The diary of that back-biting gossip Samuel Pepys reports him

grown a "most modish person," a "fine gentleman." When the war with the Dutch followed—caused in part by the seizure of New Netherland—Admiral Penn commanded the English fleet, under the Duke of York, in the fierce naval engagement off the east coast of England, at Lowestoft, in June, 1665, and just before the battle, his son was sent to the King, once or more, with dispatches. A letter from W. P. to his father, 6th May, 1665, is as follows: "At my arrival at Harwich . . I took post for London, and was there the next morning by almost daylight. I hastened to Whitehall, where not finding the King up, I presented myself to my Lord of Arlington and Colonel Ashburnham. At his Majesty's knocking, he was informed there was an express from the Duke; at which earnestly slipping out of his bed, he came only in his gown and slippers; who, when he saw me, said, 'Oh! is't you? how is Sir William?' He asked how you did at three several times. . . After interrogating me about half an hour he bid me go about your business, and mine too."

The prevalence of the Plague in London sent young Penn out of town, and presently he went to Ireland, to attend to his father's property. There he remained for nearly two years, and two experiences, strongly contrasted in character, occurred to him. He was in service as a soldier, in May, 1666, under Lord Arran, at the siege of Carrickfergus—about which time the well-known picture of him, the "portrait in armor," is supposed to have been painted. A few months later, at Cork, he again heard Thomas Loe, the Oxford preacher, present the views of the Friends. The speaker employed a text which itself no doubt strongly moved his young hearer: "There is a faith which overcomes the world, and there is a faith which is overcome by the world." He spoke afterward, in his account of his journey in Germany, in 1677, of this incident as a providential rescue from the "worldly life" which he was then likely to have led, notwithstanding his earlier convictions. "It was," he said, "at this time that the Lord visited me with a certain sound and testimony of his eternal



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Word, through one of those the world calls Quakers, namely Thomas Loe."

From this time, near the close of the year 1667, the young man definitely united himself with the Friends, and so remained until his death, fifty-one year's later. We need not here pursue his biography, in detail. We may mention simply that Admiral Penn died in 1670, worn out at forty-nine, and his son succeeded to his estates. In April, 1672, he married Gulielma Maria Springett, daughter of Sir William Springett, a Puritan, and an officer for the Parliament, who had fallen quite early in the Civil War.

We may proceed now to connect William Penn with the colonization of America. According to a statement made years afterward, he had thought of the New World, probably as a place of refuge, in the days of his student troubles at Oxford. In a letter written in 1681, after he had obtained his charter for Pennsylvania, he says, "I had an opening of joy as to these parts, in the year 1661, at Oxford, twenty years ago." Probably the thought of a colony in America had thus long lain in his mind. It is certain that even earlier than 1661 George Fox had been making plans for a Quaker colony on the Susquehanna. Fox wrote in 1660 to Josiah Cole, an English Friend who was then—for the second time—traveling and preaching in Maryland, asking him to look for land, and Cole replied in February, 1660-61, in a letter which has particular interest for us:

"Dear George—As concerning Friends buying a piece of land of the Susquehanna Indians, I have spoken of it to them, and told them what thou said concerning it; but their answer was that there is no land that is habitable or fit for situation beyond Baltimore's liberty till they come to or near the Susquehannas' fort . . . . and besides these Indians are at war with another nation of Indians, who are very numerous, and it is doubted by some that in a little space they will be so destroyed that they will not be a people."

It was, however, the colonization of New Jersey which first definitely engaged Penn's activities in the New World. The Duke of York, in 1664, immediately upon receiving his great patent from Charles, granted the territory which is now the State of New Jersey to two of his friends, John Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. The interests of the two were divided by a line running from the seashore northward into East and West New Jersey, Carteret taking the former and Lord Berkeley the latter. In March, 1673-4, Berkeley sold his half to John Fenwick, in trust for himself and Edward Byllinge. Fenwick and Byllinge were English Friends. Differences arose between them as to the measure of their respective interests in the purchase, and the case was referred to William Penn, who late in the year 1674 rendered his decision, by which an undivided one-tenth of West New Jersey was, with some money, given to Fenwick, and the remaining nine-tenths to Byllinge. A little later Byllinge, who was a merchant in London, became embarrassed, and made an assignment of his interest to William Penn, Gawen Lawrie, and Nicholas Lucas. Subsequently other business operations placed in Penn's hands a further interest in this half of the New Jersey colony. He became thus a leader among those who were engaged in the movement to settle West New Jersey, and his hand is visible in the several circular letters of description, instruction, etc., drawn up at this time. Those thinking of removal were cautioned in one circular of 1676 to be deliberate: "And as we formerly writ, we cannot but repeat our request unto you that in whomsoever a desire is to be concerned in this plantation, such would weigh the thing before the Lord, and not headily or rashly conclude on any such remove."

Most important of these documents was the elaborate one drawn up in England, and dated March 3, 1676, the "Concessions and Agreements of the Proprietors, Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Province of West New Jersey in America." This was signed by the three assignees of Byllinge, Gawen Lawrie,

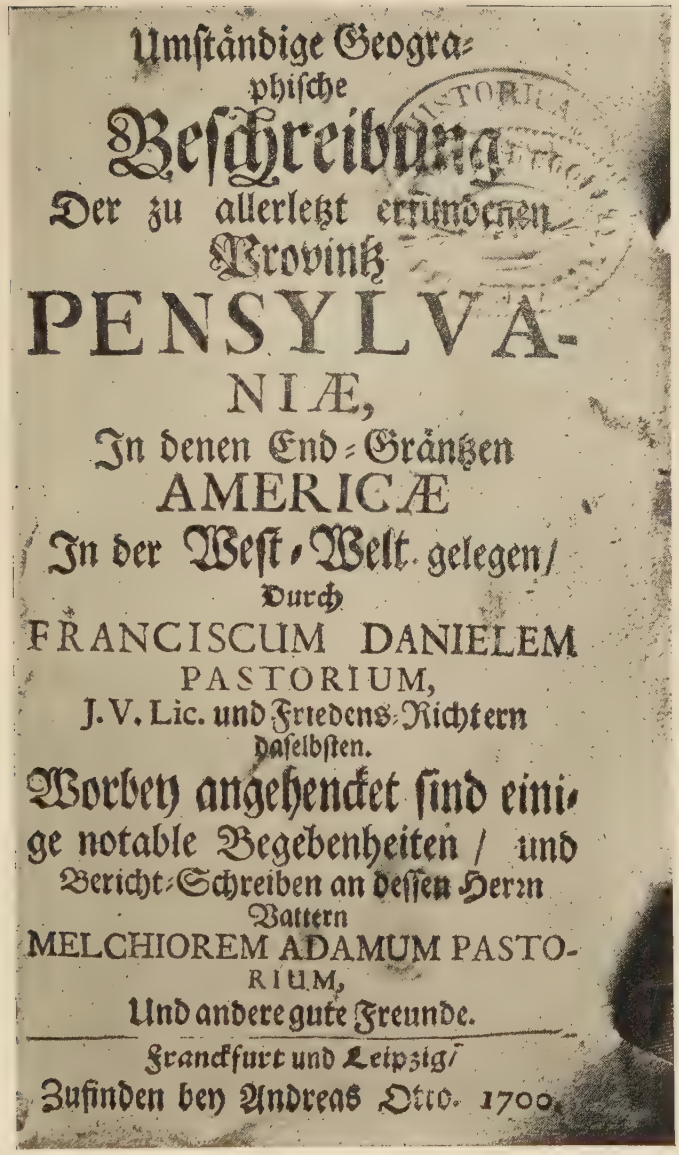
William Penn, and Nicholas Lucas, by Byllinge himself, and others in England, and—at a subsequent time, certainly—by many of those who had settled on the east bank of the Delaware, including Swedes, Dutch, and English. This document became the charter and constitution for the West Jersey colony, and has historic interest because it contains features which were subsequently adopted in the framework of Pennsylvania. There are forty-four chapters, none of them long. Provision is made for Colonial Commissioners by appointment,[1] but on New-Year's day, March 25, 1680, such commissioners, ten in number, are to be elected by the people—"the proprietors, freeholders and inhabitants resident upon the said province"—and annually thereafter. These commissioners to "govern and order the affairs of the said province, for the good and welfare of the said people," until the election of a "general free assembly." There is to be absolute freedom of conscience; it is declared that "no men, nor number of men, upon earth hath power or authority to rule over men's consciences in religious matters." There is to be trial by jury, and no arrest, attachment, or imprisonment for debt, except after due process before a court of judicature. Trials are to be public, "that justice may not be done in a corner, nor in any covert manner." Conveyances of land are to be recorded. The estates of suicides are not to be forfeited, but to go to their heirs. Care is to be taken for justice to the Indians. Persons found guilty of murder or high treason are to be punished according to the law which the general assembly may provide. This assembly to be chosen on the 1st day of October each year, one member for each of the one hundred "proprietaries" into which the province was to be divided, and to have power to choose the ten commissioners, and to pass laws not repugnant to the constitution now made.

[1]The first Commissioners, members of the Burlington Colony, were Thomas Olive, Daniel Wills, John Kinsey, John Penford, Joseph Helmsley, Robert Stacey, Benjamin Scott, Thomas Fulke, and Richard Guy. John Kinsey died at Shackamaxon, on his arrival, in 1677. His grandson, John Kinsey, was one of the most prominent men in the Pennsylvania Colony for many years—Speaker of the Assembly and Chief Justice.

Each member of the assembly to have one shilling per day, "that thereby he may be known to be the servant of the people."

Earlier even than the preparation of this fundamental law, the English occupancy of the east side of the Delaware had begun. In 1675, John Fenwick, to whom the conveyance by Berkeley had first been made, began the movement. He brought over a company of English colonists, mostly Friends, in the ship *Griffith.* Ascending the river, they chose a place on the stream now called Salem creek, and named their town Salem. Near by was the site of the Swedish fort, Elfsborg, which the Dutch—and the mosquitoes—had broken up, thirty years before.

Next to that at Salem was the settlement at Burlington. The story of the coming of its first settlers is one of exceptional interest, and has been eloquently told, but it belongs, of course, to the history of New Jersey. The Burlington company, about two hundred and thirty in number, in the ship *Kent,* left the Thames early in 1677, and reached the Delaware in the middle of August, having touched at New York to exhibit to Gov. Andros their right of settlement. They landed at Raccoon creek, near Salem, and decided, after some hesitation, to go farther up the river, choosing the place called Jegou's island, a part practically of the mainland, and near the island familiar to our narrative as Matinneconck. At Jegou's, therefore, they began to build, and Burlington thus became the first place of note upon the Delaware, above New Castle. Philadelphia was yet unthought of, unless by William Penn, and its shore line of primeval forest stood practically unbroken. In the following year, 1678, when the ship *Shield,* with another party of settlers for Burlington, sailed by the Indian place called Coaquanock, about the center of the present water front of Philadelphia, the vessel came close in, and in tacking her yards reached the branches of the trees that grew by the edge. And then some one on board, unaware what three years would bring forth, but seeing the attractions of the spot, called out, *"Here is a fine place for a town!"*


Umſtändige Geogra-
phiſche
Beſchreibung
Der zu allerletzt erfundenen
Provintz
PENSYLVA-
NIÆ,
In denen End-Gräntzen
AMERICÆ
In der Weſt-Welt gelegen/
Durch
FRANCISCUM DANIELEM
PASTORIUM,
J. V. Lic. und Friedens-Richtern
daſelbſten.
Worbey angehencket ſind eini-
ge notable Begebenheiten / und
Bericht-Schreiben an deſſen Herrn
Vattern
MELCHIOREM ADAMUM PASTO-
RIUM,
Und andere gute Freunde.
Franckfurt und Leipzig/
Zufinden bey Andreas Otto. 1700.

Title page of German book to induce Immigration to Pennsylvania

From original in Collection of Historical Society of Pennsylvania

The experience gained by his connection with the New Jersey colony, the intense desire of many of the Friends in England for a home where they might live in peace, the report of George Fox that the land was good, and that sent by Josiah Cole and others that the Indians were friendly if well used put into the mind of William Penn the larger plan which he was presently able to execute. Meanwhile, in 1677, he made an extended religious visit to Holland and the Rhine country, which must be mentioned here, for it bore important fruit later. In July of that year, accompanied by George Fox, Robert Barclay, George Keith, and others, he crossed to Holland, and from Amsterdam went to visit the Princess Elizabeth—niece of Charles I., cousin of Charles II. and James II.—at Herford, in Westphalia; thence proceeded to Frankfort-on-the-Main, and its neighborhood, and then passed down the Rhine to Holland again, visiting on the way German towns and cities east of the great river. From the acquaintances and friendships formed on this journey came in no small measure the flood of German migration which colonized an important part of Pennsylvania between 1683 and 1750, and fixed upon it an indelible Teutonic stamp.

The application of William Penn to Charles II. for a grant of land in America was presented early in the year 1680, probably in the month of May. Penn based his petition upon losses his father had sustained in Ireland, in the service of the King, amounting to eleven thousand pounds, with interest, and asked for a tract north of Maryland, bounded east by the Delaware, westward "as Maryland," and northward "as far as plantable." The business thus begun was under consideration for nearly a year. It was transferred to the "Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations," who had been constituted by the King a committee on such matters, and in their hands it remained until the charter was actually drawn and ready for the royal signature.

The several steps may be briefly outlined. The Earl of Sunderland, Secretary of State, June 1, 1680, referred the petition

to the Commissioners. June 14, they gave Penn a hearing, learned that he would be satisfied with three degrees northward from Maryland, and ordered copies of his petition sent to Sir John Werden, secretary to the Duke of York, and to the agents of Lord Baltimore. June 25, letters from Sir John Werden and Lord Baltimore's agents were read; the former cautiously dis-

Great Seal of the Province of Pennsylvania, 1712—obverse

cussed the matter, suggesting that the grant as asked for would apparently cover "that colony or plantation . . . held as an appendix . . . of the Government of New York by the name of Delaware Colony," and governed by the Duke's deputies; Lord Baltimore's agents expressed no particular opposition, provided the southern limit of the grant were drawn through "the Susquehanna Fort;" "that fort," they said, "is the boundary of Maryland northward."

Penn was called before the Commissioners on the 23d of June, and told he must arrange matters with the Duke of York for an adjustment of "their respective pretensions." He in-

formed them he would be satisfied to take the "Susquehanna Fort" as his southern limit. October 16, a letter from Sir John Werden was received, saying Penn had obtained the approval of the Duke, and the latter commanded him to say that he was "very willing Mr. Penn's request" should "meet with success"—that he should be granted "that tract of land which lies on the north of

Great Seal of the Province of Pennsylvania, 1712—reverse

Newcastle colony, and on the west side of Delaware river, beginning about the latitude of 40 degrees, and extending northward and westward as far as his Majesty pleaseth."

The way was thus fairly cleared, but many steps remained to be taken. November 4, Penn presented to the Commissioners the draft which he proposed for his patent, and it was referred to the Attorney-General, Sir William Jones; it was also ordered that Lord Baltimore's agents "have a sight" of it. November 11, the Attorney-General presented his "Observations" upon the draft. He had not found, he said, that it would "appear to entrench upon the boundaries of Lord Baltimore's province, nor those of

New York, so that the tract of land desired by Mr. Penn seems to be undisposed of by his Majesty; except the imaginary lines of New England patents, which are bounded westwardly by the main ocean, should give them a real, though impracticable right to all those vast territories." In December, North, the Lord Chief Justice, submitted a "settlement of the boundaries" to the revision of Sir John Werden, in the interest of the Duke of York.

January 15 (1680-81), the Commissioners read and approved the boundaries as they had now been drawn, and appointed "Wednesday next, at Nine in the Morning, to review the whole Patent." On the 22d of the same month the minutes of the Commissioners state: "Upon reading the Draught of a patent for Mr. Pen, constituting him absolute proprietary of a Tract of Land in America Northerly of Maryland, The Lords of the Committee desire My Lord Chief Justice North to take the said patent into his consideration and to provide, by fit clauses therein that all Acts of Sovereignty as to peace and Warr be reserved unto the King, and that all Acts of Parliament concerning Trade and Navigation and his Matie's Customs bee duly observed. And in general that the patent bee soe drawn that it may consist with the King's interest and service and give sufficient encouragement to planters to settle under it. A paper being alsoe read wherein my Lord Bishop of London desires that Mr. Pen bee obliged by his patent to admit a Chaplain of his Lord's appointment upon the request of any number of planters, the same is also referred to My Lord Chief Justice North."

February 24, the Commissioners once more read the draft of the Patent, "and there being a blank left for the name," agreed "to leave the nomination of it to the King." "The Lord Bishop of London," the minutes add, "is desired to prepare the draught of a Law to be passed in this Country [the new Colony] for the settling of the Protestant religion."

The patent of William Penn for the region which is now Pennsylvania was thus originated, developed, and perfected. It

bears on its face the statement that it was passed, "by Writt of Privy Seale." It was approved by the King on the 4th of March, 1680-81, and the "great seal" was affixed, apparently, the next day. A letter of William Penn to his friend Robert Turner, a merchant of Dublin, afterward extensively engaged in the settlement of Pennsylvania, materially enlarges our knowledge of the transaction:

"5th of 1st mo., 1681.

" . . . Thine I have, and for my business here, know that after many waitings, watchings, solicitings, and disputes in council, this day my country was confirmed to me under the great seal of England, with large powers and privileges, by the name of *Pennsylvania;* a name the King would give it in honor of my father. I chose New Wales, being, as this, a pretty hilly country, but Penn being Welsh for a *head,* as Penmanmoire in Wales, and Penrith in Cumberland, and Penn in Buckinghamshire, the highest land in England, called this Pennsylvania, which is the high or head woodlands; for I proposed, when the Secretary, a Welshman, refused to have it called New Wales, Sylvania, and they added *Penn* to it; and although I much opposed it, and went to the King to have it struck out and altered, he said it was past, and would take it upon him; nor would twenty guineas move the under Secretary to vary the name; for I feared lest it should be looked on as a vanity in me, and not as a respect in the King, as it truly was, to my father, whom he often mentions with praise. Thou mayest communicate my grant to Friends, and expect shortly my proposals. It is a clear and just thing, and my God that has given it me through many difficulties will, I believe, bless and make it the seed of a nation. I shall have a tender care to the government, that it be well laid at first."

The charter of Pennsylvania is one of several "proprietary" grants in America by English kings. It gave to William Penn large powers, yet somewhat less complete than those given to Lord Baltimore, by Charles I., in 1632. In the latter grant,

laws passed by the Assembly and confirmed by the Proprietary were valid, but in Pennsylvania they required to be submitted to the crown. In the Maryland charter it was provided that the crown, and by inference Parliament, should impose no taxes within the province, but in that of Pennsylvania the right of Parliamentary taxation was expressly reserved. These were limitations, very probably, which Lord Chief Justice North had inserted in pursuance of the minute of the Commissioners to draw the patent so as to guard the royal interests.

The object of William Penn in securing this great grant, perhaps the most valuable which any monarch ever assumed to confer, need cause no extended speculation. Two principal motives impelled him—the desire to found a free commonwealth on liberal and humane principles, and the desire, also, to provide a safe home for the persecuted Friends. We shall be safe if we say that these motives had equal weight in his mind; he was strongly devoted to his religious faith, and warmly attached to those who professed it, but not less was he an idealist in politics, and a generous and hopeful believer in the average goodness of his fellow men. His own statements, many times made, clearly present his views and explain his motives. One of his first acts, on receiving the patent, was to prepare a letter to the settlers who were already in Pennsylvania. It is dated April 8, 1681, and has the special merit of brevity, running as follows:

"My friends—I wish you all happiness, here and hereafter. These are to let you know that it hath pleased God, in his providence, to cast you within my lot and care. It is a business that, though I never undertook before, yet God has given me an understanding of my duty, and an honest mind to do it uprightly. I hope you will not be troubled at your change, and the king's choice, for you are now fixed at the mercy of no governor that comes to make his fortune great; you shall be governed by laws of your own making, and live a free, and, if you will, a sober and industrious people. I shall not usurp the right of any, or op-

Anne

Queen of England, 1702-1714

press his person. God has furnished me with a better resolution, and has given me his grace to keep it. In short, whatever sober and free men can reasonably desire for the security and improvement of their own happiness I shall heartily comply with, and in five months resolve, if it please God, to see you. In the meantime, pray submit to the commands of my deputy, so far as they are consistent with the law, and pay him those dues (that formerly you paid to the order of the governor of New York), for my use and benefit, and so I beseech God to direct you in the way of righteousness, and therein prosper you and your children after you. . . . "

"For the matters of liberty and privilege," he wrote, April 12, to Robert Turner and others, "I propose that which is extraordinary, and to leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief, that the will of one man may not hinder the good of an whole country."

A few weeks later he wrote to James Harrison, and used an expression which has remained conspicuous in the history of his colony. Speaking of the grant by the king, he said: "I eyed the Lord in obtaining it, and more was I drawn inward to look to him, and to owe it to his hand and power than to any other way. I have so obtained it, and desire to keep it that I may not be unworthy of his love, but do that which may answer his kind providence, and serve his truth and people, *that an example may be set to the nations.* There may be room there, but not here, *for such an holy experiment.*"

The political conditions in England at the time Penn obtained the Charter can hardly be passed over in this connection, though they usually have been ignored in the history of Pennsylvania. It was the period precisely of the struggle of Charles I. with the popular party in Parliament, the "Whigs" as they began to be called, headed by Lord Shaftesbury. This struggle, in which the "Exclusion Act," designed to cut the Duke of York out of the succession to the throne, was for the time the pith and substance,

had begun most earnestly in 1679, a few months before Penn presented his petition, and ended in March, 1680-81, less than a month after the charter was granted.

The Catholic religion of the Duke caused the contest. More candid than Charles, who dissembled till his death-bed, James avowed his adhesion to Rome in 1670, and in 1673 took for his second wife a Catholic princess, Mary of Modena. In the same year (1673), the passage of the "Test Act" by Parliament, requiring all holding office to subscribe an oath repugnant to the Roman church, compelled him to resign his place as Lord High Admiral, and in 1679 the heat of the controversy had become so great that he was obliged to quit England. He went first to the Continent and then to Scotland, where he remained, practically in exile, though holding the place of "High Commissioner," until the spring of 1682. He feared impeachment, and Charles did not dare to give him a pardon in advance which would safeguard his remaining in England.

It was thus that Penn plucked the charter of Pennsylvania. When the King went down to Oxford to meet the Parliament, shortly after signing the charter, the old university town, so long identified with the Stuart cause, was occupied with armed men, partisans of both sides, and it seemed as if the fires of another civil war might be kindling. But Charles dissolved the Parliament, after but seven days of life, and Shaftesbury's followers dared not take up the challenge. The King won for the time, and it was left for William of Orange, six years later, to resume the Whig program.

That a commoner like Penn should have received so great a grant amid such heats and complications is a curious passage in history. He was no lover of "prerogative," but an advocate and organizer of popular government; he was no supporter of the Court party, but a friend and associate of men like Algernon Sidney; he was not a Catholic, but a Protestant of a strict sect; he was no loose moralist, to figure in the memoirs of De Grammont, but a man of clean life both by principle and habit.

We shall find the reason of his success—not easily won, as his letter to Robert Turner discloses—in a few simple explanations. It was the settled policy of England to strengthen her colonies in America, and for this work Penn had shown large ability in the planting of New Jersey. He was "a born leader of men," and could call out of England, Wales, and Germany, as a few years

Seal of Register-General's office

proved, tens of thousands of colonists who when they had settled stayed. For the Friends in their persecutions Charles had at least compassion, as his action toward them more than once displayed. The old claims of Admiral Penn, the so-called debt, gave some support, if but slight—for certainly Charles was not one to worry over old debts—to the application. Moreover, the status of the settlements west of the Delaware, north of Lord Baltimore's colony, had been clouded by doubt from the day of Sir Robert Carr's capture of New Amstel, and even earlier, and a royal grant was desirable to clear up the situation.

That the Duke of York was the friend of the Penns, father and son, may be here explicitly owned. As James the Second,

last of the Stuart line on the English throne, he has passed into history with many severe judgments upon his head. Deserved as all these may be, or some may not, the fact remains that his attachment to the Admiral and to William Penn implied no dishonor either to him or them. The Admiral had been the Duke's supporter and companion for years in the naval wars of England, and on his death-bed he had asked him to remember kindly his son, whose Quaker convictions were only too likely to bring him into trouble. That the Duke continued friendly to the son, as he had been to the father, can certainly be no cause for reproach.

No time was lost by the new Proprietary. His plans, no doubt, had been thought over and matured in the period of "waitings, watchings, and solicitings." April 2 (1681), he obtained from the King an order to those who were settled within Pennsylvania "to yield all due obedience" to their new Governor. He had already selected his cousin William Markham to be his deputy-governor, and he drew up for him (April 8) a series of instructions relating to the sale of land, etc., and (April 10) gave him his commission, authorizing him to appoint a Council of nine persons, proclaim the King's order, give the letter to the settlers, adjust boundaries with adjoining colonies, establish courts, appoint officers, and in general set the machinery of government in motion. Markham must have left England soon after, for he had landed in America, probably at Boston, and had reached New York, before the 21st of June.

Penn's anticipation that he would himself reach Pennsylvania in five months after the date of his letter to the settlers (April 8), could not be realized. He was detained in England almost a year and a half. The time was occupied with active work for the new province. His pen was busy. He was planning and organizing. He drew up an important pamphlet, "Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania," which was first published in English, and which Benjamin Furly, a rich merchant of Rotterdam who had been one of the company with Penn on the Rhenish

journey of 1677, spread wide in translations into Dutch, German, and French.[1] It is, in purpose, an advertisement, but in style and content almost a contribution to English literature, presenting many interesting descriptive details, with economic, social, and political observations and suggestions, all in Penn's characteristic manner. He analyzes the condition of the people of England, and explains why they may better themselves in a new country. He describes Pennsylvania, which "lies six hundred miles nearer the sun than England," and whose summer is longer and warmer, but which has, notwithstanding, a colder winter. He classifies the kinds of people, whom "Providence seems to have most fitted for plantations"—"industrious husbandmen and day-laborers," who with the greatest industry are barely able to get on; sundry mechanics, "especially carpenters, masons, smiths, weavers, tailors, tanners, shoemakers, shipwrights, etc.," "ingenious spirits, that being low in the world, are much clogged and oppressed about a livelihood;" "younger brothers of small inheritances;" and lastly, "men of universal spirits, that have an eye to the good of posterity, and that both understand and delight to promote good discipline and just government among a plain and well-intending people." He states his terms for the sale of land. He will sell in "shares" of five thousand acres, free of Indian claims, for a hundred pounds purchase money, and an annual quit-rent of one shilling for each one hundred acres. Renters may have land at a shilling an acre, and for each "servant" taken over, the masters shall be allowed fifty acres, with an equal quantity to the servant when his time is out.

[1]Benjamin Furly was a notable figure in connection with the early Dutch and German movement to Pennsylvania. He was born in England in 1636, went to Amsterdam, and settled later in Rotterdam, where he married, and became one of the leading merchants. He wrote learnedly, had a collection of "at least 4,000" books, was a linguist, and a student. His house was the gathering place for men of advanced opinions and plans, including John Locke, Algernon Sidney, and the first Lord Shaftesbury. He affiliated with the Friends, and aided and entertained them, but probably did not always regard himself as one of the Society. He died in March, 1714, and was buried in the Groote Kerk at Rotterdam. (See article on B. F., by J. F. Sachse, "Penna. Mag.," Vol. XIX.)

Two papers of importance for the time in connection with the establishment of the Colony, were prepared later. These were: (1) "Certain Conditions and Concessions agreed upon by William Penn . . . and those who are the adventurers and purchasers in the said Province;" and (2) "The Frame of the Gov-

Home of John Harris, the Indian Trader

Built prior to 1718. Redrawn especially for this work from a photographic reproduction of an oil painting. By courtesy Historical Society of Dauphin County, Pennsylvania.

ernment of the Province of Pennsylvania in America." The first of these papers is dated July 11, 1681, and covers some of the same ground as to sales of land, etc., which had been dealt with in the "Some Account." It may be regarded as a form of contract between Penn and those who were supporting him in his enterprise. It is signed first by Penn himself, and then by thirteen others, few of whom became prominent in the settlement of Pennsylvania.

George I.

King of England, 1714-1727

The "Frame of Government" was a more important document. It was not prepared until some time later, and bears date April 25, 1682. It has a preface, signed by Penn, presenting general propositions as to government, followed by twenty-four specific provisions, the spirit of which had already been suggested in the "Concessions and Agreements" of West New Jersey, drawn up six years earlier, and already referred to. There are passages, however, in this first constitution of Pennsylvania, which are of permanent interest, as showing clearly the foundation on which Penn desired the commonwealth should be built, and from which, in fact, inspiration and suggestion have been drawn since his day. These sentences, from the Preface, may be cited:

"Governments rather depend upon men than men upon governments; let men be good and the government cannot be bad; if it be ill they will cure it . . . though good laws do well, good men do better; for good laws may want[1] *good men, and be abolished or evaded by ill men; but good men will never want good laws nor suffer ill ones. . . That, therefore, which makes a good constitution must keep it, viz., men of wisdom and virtue, qualities that, because they descend not with worldly inheritances, must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth. . . For liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery."*

A little later than the "Frame," there was prepared an outline of statutory enactments, "Laws Agreed Upon in England by the Governor and Divers Freemen of the aforesaid Province." There are forty numbered paragraphs under this heading, and the substance of them was enacted by the first and second Assemblies of the Province, which met after Penn's arrival. These "Laws Agreed upon in England" are dated May 3, 1682.

All these papers are, of course, the expression of Penn's own principles and plans. Whoever else may have had a hand in

[1] "Want" is used in the old sense—*lack*.

their preparation, by counsel or criticism, the substance of them is characteristically his. Probably no man ever enjoyed more the preparation of such constitutions than did he, and confidently it may be added that no period of his experience with Pennsylvania was happier than this in which he was planning for the future welfare of its people. His expectations were not utopian; his mind was very practical, and he had had enough experience with men to distinguish between the feasible and the visionary in public affairs; so that Pennsylvania in the long run realized in fair degree the hopes he entertained for her, and in every experience of her more than two centuries has never had a better guide or chart than those found in the writings of her Founder. "This is the praise of William Penn," says Bancroft, "that in an age which had seen a popular revolution shipwreck popular liberty among selfish factions, which had seen Hugh Peter and Henry Vane perish by the hangman's cord and the axe; in an age when Sidney nourished the pride of patriotism rather than the sentiment of philanthropy, when Russell stood for the liberties of his order and not for new enfranchisements, when Harrington and Shaftesbury and Locke thought government should rest upon property—he did not despair of humanity, and though all history and experience denied the sovereignty of the people, dared to cherish the noble idea of man's capacity for self-government, and right to it."

In the midst of his larger plans, matters of business detail pressed for settlement. The Indian trade looked attractive to certain parties, who offered him a large sum for a monopoly of it. Writing to Robert Turner, August 25, 1681, he says: "I did refuse a great temptation last Second-day, which was six thousand pounds, and pay the Indians [i. e., extinguish the Indian claims] for six shares [30,000 acres] and make the purchasers a company, to have wholly to itself the Indian trade from south to north, between the Susquehanna and Delaware rivers, paying me two and a half per cent. acknowledgment or rent; but

as the Lord gave it me over all and great opposition . . . I would not . . . defile what came to me clean."

The plans which Penn had formed in regard to the sale of land, with the quit-rent feature, are explained in his letter to James Harrison, August 25 (1681), already quoted from. He says:

"Now, dear James, for the fifty acres a servant to the master, and fifty to the servant. This is done for their sakes that can't buy; for I must either be paid by purchase or rent, that is, those that can't buy may take up, if a master of a family, 200 acres at a penny an acre [rent], afterwards 50 acres a head for every man and maid servant, but still at same rent, else none would buy or rent . . . however to encourage poor servants to go and be laborious, I have abated the 1*d.* to ½*d.* per acre, when they are out of their time. . . For those that can't pay their passage, let me know their names, number, and ages; they must pay double rent to those that help them over. But this know that this rent is never to be raised, and they are to enjoy it [possession of the land] forever. For the acre it is the common statute acre by our law allowed. So, dear James, thou mayst let me hear of thee, and how things incline. I shall persuade none; 'tis a good country, *with a good conscience it will do well.* A ship goes with commissioners suddenly, in five weeks, to lay out the first and best land to the first adventurers. . . I clear the king's and Indian title; the purchaser pays the scrivener and surveyor. I sign the deeds at Thomas Rudyard's[1] when I know who and what."

The commissioners mentioned by Penn, as soon to sail, were William Crispin, John Bezar, and Nathaniel Allen. They received a series of "Instructions" from Penn, dated September 30, 1681, seventeen in number, twelve of which relate to the

[1]Thomas Rudyard was a lawyer in London. He was appointed, in September, 1682, deputy-governor of East New Jersey, and came over about the same time as Penn, arriving there in November of that year. He was succeeded by Gawen Lawrie in 1684. For a short time he was Attorney-General of New York. He died in 1692.

choice of a site for the intended "great town" and its laying out, one of these containing the since famous clause that the houses should stand in the middle of the lots, *"that it may be a green country town,* which will never be burnt and always be wholesome." William Haige was a little later appointed a fourth commissioner, and Crispin dying on the voyage to Pennsylvania, Captain Thomas Holme was commissioned in his place.

The Commissioners, excepting Holme, sailed late in September or early in October. Several ships were then leaving for Penn's new colony. One of these, the *Bristol Factor,* Roger Drew master, sailed from Bristol, and arrived at Upland, after a long voyage in December, probably on the 11th of the month. Another, the *John and Sarah,* Henry Smith master, left London later, but reached the Delaware earlier than the Bristol ship. A third vessel, the *Amity,* Richard Dimon master, is said to have sailed from London, to have gone by the West Indies—as probably they all did—to have been "blown off" the Delaware capes, and to have put in at Barbadoes, returning thence to England, and not coming to Pennsylvania until the spring of 1682. Whether this, resting upon the authority of Proud, is exactly correct is doubtful. It is certain that the *Amity* did sail from London on the 23d of April following (1682), reaching the Delaware late in June. If she had made such a previous voyage as has been described, she must have returned, after being "blown off," not merely to the West Indies, but to England.

The commissioners being gone, two other matters of business, both important as it then seemed, pressed on Penn's attention. One of these was the formation of a commercial company, the Free Society of Traders, of which great things were expected, but which in the end brought little but disappointment. Perhaps the letter describing Pennsylvania, which Penn sent to it in 1683, of which we shall speak, was the principal justification for the labor and money bestowed upon the company. The charter, signed by Penn on the last day of the year, March 24 (1681),

granted large powers. It was given twenty thousand acres of land, to be a "manor," in the English character, "The Manor of Frank," with manorial powers of holding "court-baron" and "court-leet." Its privileges of trade were extensive, and large plans were formed for its operations. "Two or more general factories" were to be set up, one in Pennsylvania and one on

Graeme Park

Situated at Horsham, Montgomery County. Originally a tract of 1200 acres. William Keith erected the mansion in 1722. Photographed especially for this work by J. F. Sachse from original painting in possession of Historical Society of Pennsylvania

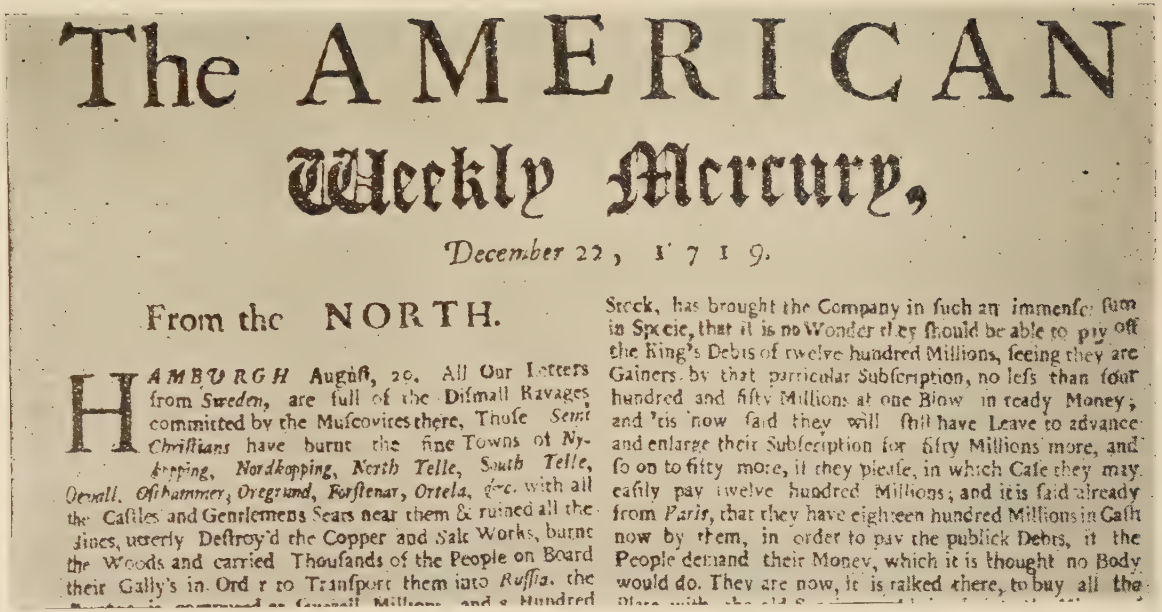
Chesapeake bay. An array of officers, agents and employés was provided for. Thoughtful provision was made for receiving "Blacks for Servants." They were to be set free after fourteen years' servitude, but upon condition that they should pay as rent two-thirds of the produce of "such a parcell of land" as the Society should assign them. The Indians, too, were to be assisted, "both by Advice and Artificers," to settle "in Towns and other places."

The corporation was formed March 25, 1681, and the election held in May. Nicholas More, a physician of London, was

chosen president, and James Claypoole treasurer. In June, the capital paid in had reached about ten thousand pounds. More proceeded soon to Pennsylvania—in the *Geoffrey,* a new ship, which came in twenty-nine days, and arrived shortly after the *Welcome*—and promptly took a leading part in affairs.[1] Claypoole came the next year, in the *Concord,* with the German settlers from Crefeld.

The other large matter of business which engaged Penn, and detained him in England, was the securing from the Duke of York of a conveyance of his property and governmental rights—whatever the latter might be—of the colony on the west bank of Delaware bay. There was no grant of this, of course, in the charter, and the Duke had been careful to retain the twelve-mile circle around New Castle. Penn thus saw that he might be cut off from the ocean, if the Duke's "Lower Counties" fell into unfriendly hands, and he earnestly pressed him to make them over to him. There is evidence that the Duke was at first disinclined, but he finally consented, and a few days before the *Welcome* was ready to sail, the transaction was completed. August 2 the Duke executed a release or quit-claim deed to all rights he might have in Pennsylvania, and three days later he executed two "deeds of feoffment," one for the town of New Castle, and the land within a circle drawn twelve miles around it, and the other for all the remainder of the Bay Territory, beginning at the circular line, "and extending south to the Whorekills, otherwise called Cape Henlopen." In each case the Duke appointed John Moll and Ephraim Herman of New Castle his attorneys "to deliver quiet and peaceable possession and seisin." For the New Castle circle Penn was to pay a yearly rent of five shillings, "at the feast of St. Michael the archangel;" for the lands below he

[1]He was Speaker of the first Assembly (Dec., 1682), and later Chief Justice, then was engaged in a long controversy with the Assembly, and died in 1687, at his home, "Green Spring," near what is now Somerton, Philadelphia. He had a grant of the Manor of Moreland, nearly 10,000 acres, comprising a large part of what became the townships of Moreland, in Philadelphia and Montgomery counties.



The AMERICAN

Weekly Mercury,

December 22, 1719.

From the NORTH.

HAMBURGH August, 20. All Our Letters from *Sweden*, are full of the Dismall Ravages committed by the Muscovites there, Those *Semi Christians* have burnt the fine Towns of *Nyshopping*, *Nordkopping*, *North Telle*, *South Telle*, *Oswall*, *Ofshammer*, *Oregrund*, *Forstenar*, *Ortela*, &c. with all the Castles and Gentlemens Seats near them & ruined all the Mines, utterly Destroy'd the Copper and Salt Works, burnt the Woods and carried Thousands of the People on Board their Gally's in Ord r to Transport them into *Russia*. the [illegible] consisted of seventeen Millions and a Hundred

Stock, has brought the Company in such an immense sum in Specie, that it is no Wonder they should be able to pay off the King's Debts of twelve hundred Millions, seeing they are Gainers by that particular Subscription, no less than four hundred and fifty Millions at one Blow in ready Money; and 'tis now said they will shall have Leave to advance and enlarge their Subscription for fifty Millions more, and so on to fifty more, if they please, in which Case they may easily pay twelve hundred Millions; and it is said already from *Paris*, that they have eighteen hundred Millions in Cash now by them, in order to pay the publick Debts, if the People demand their Money, which it is thought no Body would do. They are now, it is talked there, to buy all the [illegible]

Heading of first Paper published in Pennsylvania

Photographed especially for this work by J. F. Sachse from an original copy

was to pay one-half the "rents, issues, and profits," and to hold them "as of the Duke's castle at New York, in free and common soccage," paying one rose, if demanded, annually.

The labors thus described may be considered to have filled out the busy days of the founder before his ship sailed. He was now a man nearly thirty-seven years old. His home was at Worminghurst, in Sussex, an estate which his wife had inherited. He had three living children—Springett, Letitia, and William. Three other children, born earlier, had died. Looking to his departure he addressed a beautiful letter to his wife and children, which has been ever since the delight of a multitude of sympathetic readers. And before parting he sent a short letter of love to each of the children, a simple missive, in language which their young minds might comprehend. At the end of August he sailed for his new colony.

CHARTER OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA[1]

Charles the Second, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c., To all to whome these presents shall come Greeting. Whereas our Trustie and well beloved Subject, William Penn, Esquire, sonn and heire of Sir William Penn, deceased, out of a commendable desire to enlarge our English Empire, and promote such usefull comodities as may bee of benefit to us and our Dominions, as alsoe to reduce the Savage Natives by gentle and iust manners to the love of civill Societie and Christian Religion hath humbley besought leave of us to transport an ample colonie unto a certaine Countrey hereinafter described in the parts of America not yet cultivated and planted. And hath likewise humbley besought our Royall majestie to give, grant, and confirme all the said countrey with certaine privileges and Jurisdiccons requisite for the good Government and safetie of the said Countrey and Colonie, to him and his heirs forever.

Know Yee, therefore, that wee, favouring the petition and good purpose of the said William Penn, and haveing regard to the memorie and meritts of his late father, in divers services, and perticulerly to his conduct, courage and discretion under our dearest brother, James, Duke of Yorke, in that signall battell and victorie, fought and obteyned against the Dutch fleete, command-

[1]So much in the history of Pennsylvania rests upon this grant by the English King that it has been thought proper to print the document in full. It may be found (varying slightly in language from this), in Proud's "History of Pennsylvania," Vol. I., and in Vol. I. of the "Colonial Records." A *fac simile* of the copy kept in the executive offices at Harrisburg has been issued in connection with "The Duke of York's Book of Laws," and "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series.

ed by the Heer Van Opdam, in the yeare One thousand six hundred sixtie-five, in consideration thereof of our special grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, Have given and granted, and by this our present Charter, for us, our heirs and successors, Doe give and grant unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assignes all that tract or parte of land in America, with all the Islands therein conteyned, as the same is bounded on the East by Delaware River, from twelve miles distance Northwarde of New Castle Towne unto the three and fortieth degree of Northern latitude if the said River doth extend soe farre Northwards; But if the said River shall not extend soe farre Northward, then by the said River soe farr as it doth extend, and from the head of the said River the Easterne bounds are to bee determined by a meridian line to bee drawn from the head of the said River unto the said three and fortieth degree, the said lands to extend Westwards, five degrees in longitude, to bee computed from the said Eastern Bounds, and the said lands to bee bounded on the North, by the beginning of the three and fortieth degree of Northern latitude, and on the south, by a circle drawn at twelve miles distance from New Castle Northwards, and Westwards unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of Northern Latitude; and then by a straight line Westwards, to the limitt of Longitude above mentioned.

Wee Doe also give and grant unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assignes, the free and undisturbed use, and continuance in and passage into and out of all and singular Ports, harbours, Bayes, waters, rivers, Isles and Inletts, belonging unto or leading to and from the Countrey, or Islands aforesaid; and all the soyle, lands, fields, woods, underwoods, mountaines, hills, fenns, Isles, Lakes, Rivers, waters, rivuletts, Bays and Inletts, scituate or being within or belonging unto the Limitts and Bounds aforesaid, togeather with the fishing of all sortes of fish, whales, sturgeons, and all Royall and other fishes in the sea, bayes, Inletts, waters or Rivers, within the premises, and the fish therein taken, and alsoe all veines, mines and quarries, as well discovered as not discovered, of Gold, Silver, Gemms and pretious Stones, and all other whatsoever, stones, metalls or of any other thing or matter whatsoever, found or to bee found within the Countrey, Isles, or Limitts aforesaid; and him the said William Penn, his heirs and assignes, Wee Doe, by this our Royall Charter, for us, our heirs and successors, make, create and constitute the true and absolute proprietaries of the Countrey aforesaid, and of all other, the premises, saving always to us, our heirs and successors, the faith and allegiance of the said William Penn, his heirs and assignes, and of all other, the proprietaries, tenants and Inhabitants that are, or shall be within the Territories and precincts aforesaid; and saving alsoe unto us; our heirs and Successors, the Sovreignity of the aforesaid Countrey, To Have, hold, possesse and enjoy the said tract of Land, Countrey, Isles, Inletts and other the premises, unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assignes, to the only proper use and behoofe of the said William Penn, his heires and assignes forever. To bee holden of us, our heirs and Successors, Kings of England, as of our Castle of Windsor, in our County of Berks, in free and comon socage by fealty only for all services, and not in Capite or by Knights service, Yeelding and paying therfore to us, our heirs and Successors, two Beaver Skins to bee delivered att our said Castle of Windsor, on the first day of January, in every yeare; and also the fifth parte of all Gold and silver Oare, which shall from time to time happen to be found within the Limitts aforesaid, cleare of all charges.

And of our further grace certaine knowledge and meere mocon, wee have thought fitt to Erect, and wee doe hereby Erect the aforesaid Country and Islands, into a province and Seigniorie, and doe call itt PENSILVANIA, and soe from henceforth wee will have itt called,

And forasmuch as we have hereby made and ordeyned the aforesaid William Penn, his heires and assignes, the true and absolute Proprietaries of all the Lands and Dominions aforesaid, Know Yee therefore, that wee reposing special trust and confidence in the fidelitie, wisdome, Justice, and provident circumspeccon of the said William Penn, for us, our heires and successors, Doe grant free, full and absolute power, by vertue of these presents to him and his heires, and to his and their Deputies, and Lieutenants, for the good and happy government of the said Countrey, to ordeyne, make, enact and under his and their Seales to publish any Lawes whatsoever, for the raising of money for the publick uses of the said province, or for any other end apperteyning either unto the publick state peace, or safety of the said Countrey, or unto the private utility of perticular persons, according unto their best discretions, by and with the advice, assent and approbacon of the freemen of the said Countrey, or the greater parte of them, or of their Delegates or Deputies, whom for the Enacting of the said Lawes, when, and as often as need shall require, Wee Will, that the said William Penn, and his heires, shall assemble in such sort and forme as to him and them shall seeme best and the same lawes duely to execute unto, and upon all people within the said Countrey and limits thereof;

And Wee doe likewise give and grant unto the said William Penn, and his heires, and to his and their Deputies and Lieutenants, such power and authoritie to appoint and establish any Judges, and Justices, magistrates and officers whatsoever, for what causes soever, for the probates of wills and for the granting of administracons within the precincts aforesaid, and with what power soever, and in such forme as to the said William Penn, or his heires, shall seeme most convenient; Alsoe, to remitt, release, pardon and abolish, whether before Judgement or after, all crimes and offences, whatsover committed within the said Countrey, against the said Lawes, treason and wilfull and malitious murder onely excepted; and in those cases, to grant reprieves untill our pleasure may bee knowne thereon, and to doe all and every other thing and things which unto the complete establishment of Justice unto Courts and Tribunals, formes of Judicature and manner of proceedings doe belong, although in these presents expresse mencon bee not made theerof; and by Judges by them delegated to award processe, hold pleas and determine in all the said Courts and Tribunalls, all accons, suits and causes whatsoever, as well criminall as civill, personall, reall and mixt, which Lawes soe as aforesaid to be published, Our pleasure is, and soe Wee enjoyne, require and command shall bee most absolute and avaylable in law, and that all the Liege people and Subjects of us, our heirs and successors, doe observe and keepe the same inviolable in those partes, soe farr as they concerne them, under the paine therein expressed, or to bee expressed. Provided: Nevertheles, that the said Lawes bee consonant to reason, and bee not repugnant or contrarie, but as neere as conveniently may bee agreeable to the Lawes, statutes and rights of this our Kingdome of England, and saveing and reserving to us, our heirs and successors, the receiving, hearing and determining of the appeale and appeales, of all or any person or persons, of, in or belonging to the territories aforesaid, or touching any Judgement to bee there made or given.

And forasmuch as in the Government of soe great a Countrey, sudden accidents doe often happen, whereunto itt will be necessarie to apply a remedie before the freeholders of the said Province, or their Delegates or Deputies can be assembled to the making of Lawes, neither will itt be convenient that instantly upon every such emergent occasion, soe greate a multitude should be called together; Therefore, for the better Government of the said Countrey, Wee Will, and ordeyne, and by these presents for us, our heires and successors, Doe grant unto the said William Penn and his heires, by themselves or by their magistrates and officers, in that behalfe, duely to bee ordeyned as aforesaid, to make and constitute, fitt and wholesome ordinances from time to time within the said Countrey, to bee kept and observed as well for the preservacon of the peace, as for the better government of the people there inhabiting, and publickly to notifie the same, to all persons whome the same doeth or any way may concerne, which ordinances our will and pleasure is, shall be observed inviolably within the said Province, under paines therein to bee expressed, soe as the said ordinances bee consonant to reason and bee not repugnant nor contrary, but soe farre as conveniently may bee agreeable with the Lawes of our Kingdome of England, and soe as the said ordinances be not extended in any sort to bind, charge or take away the right or interest of any person or persons, for or in their life, members, freehold, goods or Chattells; and our further will and pleasure is, that the Lawes for regulating and governing of propertie, within the said Province, as well for the descent and enjoyment of lands, as likewise for the enioyment and succession of goods and Chattells, and likewise as to felonies, shall be and continue the same as they shall bee for the time being, by the general course of the law in our Kingdome of England, untill the said Lawes shall be altered by the said William Penn, his heirs or assignes, and by the freemen of the said Province, their Delegates or Deputies or the greater part of them.

And to the End the said William Penn, or heires, or other, the Planters, Owners or Inhabitants of the said Province, may not att any time hereafter, by misconstrucon of the powers aforesaid, through inadvertiencie or designe, depart from that faith and due allegiance which by the Lawes of this our Realme of England, they and all our subjects, in our Dominions and Territories, always owe unto us, our heires and successors, by colour of any extent or largenesse of powers hereby given, or pretended to bee given, or by force or colour of any lawes hereafter to bee made in the said Province, by virtue of any such powers, Our further will and pleasure is, that a transcript or Duplicate of all lawes which shall bee soe as aforesaid, made and published within the said province, shall within five yeares after the making thereof, be transmitted and delivered to the privy Councell, for the time being, of us, our heires and successors; and if any of the said Lawes within the space of six months, after that they shall be soe transmitted and delivered, bee declared by us, our heires and successors, in our or their privy Councill, inconsistent with the sovereignty or lawfull prerogative of us, our heirs or successors, or contrary to the faith and allegiance due by the legall Government of this realme, from the said William Penn, or his heires, or of the Planters and Inhabitants of the said province; and that thereupon any of the said Lawes shall bee adiudged and declared to be void by us, our heirs or successors, under our or their Privy Seale, that then, and from thenceforth such Lawes concerning which such Judgement and declaracon shall be made, shall become voyd, otherwise the said lawes soe transmitted, shall remaine and stand in

full force according to the true intent and meaning thereof. Furthermore, that this new Colony may be more happily increased, by the multitude of people resorting thither; Therefore, Wee, for us, our heires and successors, do give and grant by these presents, power, licence and libertie unto all the liege people and subjects, both present and future of us, our heires and successors, excepting those who shall bee especially forbidden, to transport themselves and families unto the said Countrey, with such convenient shipping, as by the laws of this, our kingdome of England, they ought to use with fitting provisions, paying only the customs therefore due, and there to settle themselves, dwell and inhabitt and plant for the public and their own private advantage;

And Furthermore, that our subjects may bee the rather encouraged to undertake this expedicon with ready and cheerful mindes, Know Yee, that wee of our especial grace, certaine knowledge and meere mocon, Doe give and grant by vertue of these presents, as well unto the said William Penn and his heires, as to all others who shall from time to time repaire unto the said Countrey, with a purpose to inhabitt there, or to trade with the natives of the said Country, full license to lade and freight in any Ports, whatsoever of us, our heires and successors, according to the lawes, made or to be made within our kingdome of England, and into the said Countrey, by them, their servants or assigns, to transport all and singular their wares, goods and merchandizes, as likewise, all sorts of graine whatsoever, and all other things whatsoever necessary for food or cloathing, not phibited by the lawes and Statutes of our Kingdomes and Dominions, to be carryed out of the said Kingdomes without any lett or molestacon of us, our heires and sucessors, or of any the officers of us, our heires and successors, saveing alwayes to us, our heirs and successors, the legall impositons, customes, and other duties and payments for the said wares and merchandize, by any law or statute due or to be due to us, our heirs and successors.

And Wee Doe further for us, our heires and Successors give and grant unto the said William Penn his heires and assignes, free and absolute power to Divide the said Countrey, and Islands, into Townes, Hundreds and Counties, and to erect and incorporate Townes into Borroughs, and Borroughs into Citties, and to make and constitute ffaires and markets therein, with all other convenient privileges and imunities according to the merits of the inhabitants and the ffitnes of the places; & to doe all and every other thing and things touching the premises which to him or them shall seeme requisite, and meet, albeit they be such as of their owne nature might otherwise require a more especiall comandment and warrant, then in these presents is expressed.

Wee Will Alsoe, and by these presents for us, our heires and successors, Wee doe give and grant licence by this charter, unto the said William Penn, his heires and assignes, and to all inhabitants and dwellers in pvince aforesaid, both present, and to come to import or unlade by themselves or their Servants, ffactors or assigns, all merchandizes and goods whatsoever that shall arise of the fruites and comodities of the said province, either by Land or Sea, into any of the Ports of us, our heires and successors, in our Kingdome of England, and not into any other country whatsoever. And Wee give him full power to dispose of the said goods in the said ports, and if need be, within one yeare next after the unladeing of the same, to lade the said merchandizes and goods again into the same or other shipps, and to export the same into any other Countreys, either of our Dominions or fforreigne,

according to lawe: Provided alwayes, that they pay such customes and imposicons, subsidies and duties for the same to vs, our heires and successors, as the rest of our subjects of our Kingdome of England, for the time being shall be bound to pay, and doe observe the acts of Navigation and other laws in that behalfe made.

And Furthermore, of our more ample and especiall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, Wee Doe, for us, our heires and successors, Grant unto the said William Penn, his heires and assignes, full and absolute power and authoritie, to make, erect and constitute within the said province, and the Isles and Isletts aforesaid, such and soe many Seaports, harbours, Creeks, Havens, Keyes and other places, for discharge and unlading of goods & merchandize out of the shipps, boates and other vessells, and Ladeing them in such and soe many places, and with such rights, Jurisdiccons, liberties and privileges unto the said ports, belonging as to him or them, shall seeme most expedient, and that all and singular the shipps, boates and other vessells which shall come for merchandize and trade, unto the said pvince, or out of the same shall depart, shall be laden or unladen onely at such ports as shall be erected and constituted by the said William Penn, his heires and assigns, any use, custome of other thing to the contrary notwithstanding: Provided, that the said William Penn and his heires, and the Lieutenants and Governors for the time being, shall admitt and receive in and about all such ports, havens, Creeks and Keyes, all officers and their Deputies, who shall from time to time be appointed for that purpose, by the ffarmers or Commissioners of our customes, for the time being.

And Wee Doe further appoint and ordaine, and by these presents for us, our heires and successors, Wee Doe grant unto the said William Penn, his heires and assignes that he the said William Penn, his heires and assignes, may from time to time forever, have and enjoy the customes and subsidies in the ports, harbours and other Creeks, and places aforesaid, within the pvince aforesaid, payable or due for merchandizes and wares, there to be laded and unladed, the said customes and subsidies to be reasonably assessed, upon any occasion by themselves, and the people there as aforesaid, to be assembled to whom Wee give power, by these presents for us, our heires and successors, upon just cause, and in a due pporcon, to assesse and impose the same, saveing unto us, our heires and successors, such imposcons and customes as by act of parliament are and shall be appointed; and it is our further will and pleasure, that the said William Penn, his heires and assignes, shall from time to time constitute and appoint an attorney or agent, to reside in or near our Citty of London, who shall make knowne the place where he shall dwell or may be found, unto the Clerks of Our privy Counsell, for the time being, or one of them, and shall be ready to appeare in any of our Courtts att Westminster, to answer for any misdemeanors that shall be comitted, or by any wilfull default or neglect pmitted by the said William Penn, his heirs or assignes, against our Lawes of Trade or Navigacon, and after it shall be ascertained in any of the our said Courts, what damages Wee or our heires or successors shall have sustained, by such default or neglect, the said William Penn, his heires and assignes, shall pay the same within one yeare after such taxacon and demand thereof, from such attorney, or in case there shall be noe such attorney, by the space of one yeare, or such attorney shall not make payment of such damages, within the space of one yeare, and answer such other forfeitures and penalties within the said time, as by the acts of parlia-

William Keith

Baronet; lieutenant-governor, 1717; established High Court of Chancery which was abolished 1735; issued the first paper money of the colony. Photographed especially for this work by J. F. Sachse from the original in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania

ment in England, are or shall be pvided, according to the true intent and meaning of these presents: Then it shall be lawfule for us, our heirs and successors, to seize and Resume the government of the said pvince or Countrey, and the same to retaine until payment shall be made thereof. But notwithstanding any such seizure or resumption of the Government, nothing concerning the propriety or ownership of any Lands, Tenements or other hereditaments, or goods, or chattels of any of the adventurers, Planters or owners, other than the respective offenders there shall be any way affected or molested thereby:

Provided alwayes, that our will and pleasure is, that neither the said William Penn, nor his heires, nor any other the inhabitants of the said pvince, shall at any time hereafter haue or maintain any correspondence with any other king, prince or State, or with any of their subjects, who shall then be at warr against us, our heires or successors; Nor shall the said William Penn, or his heires, or any other the inhabitants of the said pvince, make warr or doe any act of hostilitie against any other king, prince or state, or any of their subjects who shall then be in league or amity with us, our heires or successors.

And because in soe remote a Countrey, and scituate neare many Barbarous Nations, the incursions as well of the savages themselves, as of other enemies, pirates and Robbers, may pbably be feared. Therefore, Wee have given and for us, our heires and successors, Doe give power by these presents unto the said William Penn, his heires and assignes, by themselves or their Captaines or other, their officers to levy, muster and traine all sorts of men, of what condicon, or whatsoever borne, in the said pvince of Pensylvania, for the time being, and to make warr and pursue the enemies and Robbers aforesaid, as well by Sea as by Land, yea, even without the Limits of the said pvince, and by God's assistance to vanquish and take them, and being taken, to put them to death by the law of Warr, or to save them att theire pleasure, and to doe all and every other act and thing, which to the charge and office of a Captaine generall of an Army, belongeth or hath accustomed to belong, as fully and ffreely as any Captaine Generall of an Army, hath ever had the same.

And Furthermore, of our especiall grace and of our certaine knowledg and meere motion, Wee have given and granted, and by these presents for us, our heires and successors, Doe give and grant unto the said William Penn, his heires and assignes, full and absolute power, licence and authoritie, That he the said William Penn, his heires and Assignes, from time to time hereafter forever, att his or theire will and pleasure, may assigne, alien, grant, demise or inffeoffe of the premises, soe many, and such partes and parcells to him or them, that shall be willing to purchase the same, as they shall thinke ffitt. To Have And To Hold to them, the said person and persons willing to take or purchase, theire heires and assignes, in ffee simple or ffeetaile, or for the term of life, or liues, or yeares, to be held of the said William Penn, his heires and assignes as of the said Seigniory of Windsor, by such services, customes and rents, as shall seeme ffitt to the said William Penn, his heires and assignes, and not immediately of us, our heires and successors, and to the same person or persons, and to all and every of them, Wee Doe give and grant by these presents, for us, our heires and successors, Licence, authoritie and power, that such person or persons may take the premisses or any parcell thereof, of the aforesaid William Penn, his heires or assignes, and the same

hold to themselves, their heires and assignes, in what estate of inheritance soever, in ffee simple or in ffetaile or otherwise, as to him and said William Penn, his heires and assignes, shall seem expedient. The Statutes made in the parliament of Edward, sonne of King Henry, late King of England, our predecessor, commonly called the Statute Qui Emptores terrarum, lately

Court House or City Hall, Chester

Oldest public building in the State; erected 1724; still standing. Photo by D. E. Brinton

published in our kingdomes of England, in any wise notwithstanding, and by these presents, Wee give and grant licence unto the said William Penn, and his heires, likewise to all and every such person and persons, to whom the said William Penn, or his heires, shall at any time hereafter, grant any estate of inheritance as aforesaid, to erect any parcells of Land within the pvince aforesaid, into mannors, by and with the licence to be first had and obteyned for that purpose under the hand and seale of the said William Penn, or his heires, and in every of the said mannors, to have and to hold a Court Baron,

with all things whatsoever, which to a Court Baron do belong; and to have and hold view of ffrankpledge, for the conservacon of the peace, and the better government of those parties by themselves or their Stewarts, or by the Lords for the time being, of other mannors to be deputed when they shall be erected, and in same to use all things belonging to view of ffrankpledge; and Wee doe further grant licence and authoritie that every such person and persons, who shall erect any such mannor or mannors as aforesaid, shall or may grant all or any parte of his said lands to any person or persons, in ffee simple or any other estate of inheritance to be held of the said mannors respectively, soe as noe further tenures shall be created, but that upon all further and other alienacons thereafter, to be made the said lands soe aliened, shall be held of the same Lord and his heires, of whom the alien did then before hold, and by the like rents and services, which were before due and accustomed. And further, our pleasure is and by these presents for us, our heires and successors, Wee doe Covenant and grant to and with the said William Penn, and his heires and assignes, that Wee, our heires and successors, shall att no time hereafter sett or make, or cause to be sett, any imposicon, custome or other taxacon, rate or contribucon whatsoever, in and upon the dwellers and inhabitants of the aforesaid pvince, for their lands, tenements, goods or chattels, within the said province, or in and upon any goods or merchandize within the said pvince, or to be laden or unladen within the ports or harbours of the said pvince, unles the same be with the consent of the pprietary, or chiefe Governor and Assembly, or by act of parliament in England. And our pleasure is, and for us our heires and successors, Wee charge and comand, that this our Declaracon, shall from henceforward be received, and allowed from time to time in all our Courts, and before all the Judges of us, our heires and successors, for a sufficient and lawful discharge, payment and acquittance, commanding all and singular the officers and ministers of us, our heires and successors, and enjoyneing them upon paine of our high displeasure, that they doe not presume att any time to attempt anything to the contrary of the premises, or that they doe in any sort withstand the same, but that they bee att all times aiding and assisting as is fitting unto the said William Penn, and his heires, and to the inhabitants and merchants of the pvince aforesaid, their servants, ministers, ffactors and assignes, in the full use and fruition of the beneffitt of this our Charter:

And our further pleasure is, And Wee doe hereby, for us, our heires and successors, charge and require that if any of the inhabitants of the said pvince, to the number of Twenty, shall att any time hereafter be desirous, and shall by any writeing or by any person deputed for them, signify such their desire to the Bishop of London, that any preacher or preachers to be approved of by the said Bishop, may be sent unto them for their instruccon, and then such preacher or preachers, shall and may be and reside within the said pvince, without any Deniall or molestacon whatsoever; and if perchance it should happen hereafter, any doubts or questions should arise concerneing the true sence & meaning of any word clause or sentence, conteyned in this our present charter, Wee Will ordaine and comand, that att all times and in all things such interpretacon be made thereof, and allowed in any of our courts whatsoever, as shall be adiudged most advantageous and favourable unto the said William Penn, his heires and assignes: Provided alwayes that no interpretacon be admitted thereof, by which the allegiance due unto us, our heires and successors, may suffer any preiudice or diminucon, although expres

mencon be not made in these presents, of the true yearly value or certainty of the premisses, or of any parte thereof, or of other guifts and grants made by us, our pgenitors or predecessors, unto the same William Penn, or any Statute, act, ordinance, pvision, pclamacon or restraint heretofore, had made, published, ordained or pvided, or any other thing, cause or matter whatsoever to the contrary thereof, in any wise notwithstanding.

In Witness whereof Wee have caused these our letters to be made patents, Witness our selfe at Westminster, the fourth day of March, in the three and thirtieth year of our Reigne.

By writt of privy Seale. PICOTT.

"CONDITIONS AND CONCESSIONS"[1]

First.—That so soon as it pleaseth God that the above said persons arrive there, a quantity of land or Ground plat shall be laid out for a large Town or City in the most convenient place upon the River for health and navigation; and every purchaser and adventurer shall by lot have so much land therein as will answer to the proportion which he hath bought or taken up upon rent. But it is to be noted that the surveyors shall consider what Roads or Highways will be necessary to the Cities, Towns, or through the lands. Great roads from City to City not to contain less than forty feet in breadth shall be first laid out and declared to be for highways before the Dividend of acres be laid out for the purchaser, and the like observation to be had for the streets in the Towns and Cities, that there may be convenient roads and streets preserved not to be encroached upon by any planter or builder that none may build irregularly to the damage of another. . . . .

Eighthly.—And for the encouragement of such as are ingenious, and willing to search out Gold and silver mines in this province, it is hereby agreed that they have liberty to bore and dig in any man's property, fully paying the damage done, and in case a Discovery should be made, that the discoverer have one-fifth, the owner of the soil (if not the Discoverer) a Tenth part, the Governor Two Fifths, and the rest to the public Treasury, saving to the king the share reserved by patent.

Ninthly. In every hundred thousand acres, the Governor and Proprietary by lot reserveth Ten to himself, which shall lie but in one place.

Tenthly.—That every man shall be bound to plant or man so much of his share of Land as shall be set out and surveyed, within three years after it is so set out and surveyed, or else it shall be lawful for new comers to be settled thereupon, paying to them their survey money, and they go up higher for their shares.

Eleventhly.—There shall be no buying and selling, be it with an Indian, or one among another, of any goods to be exported but what shall be performed in public market, when such place shall be set apart or erected, where they shall pass the public Stamp or Mark. If bad ware and prized as good, or deceitful in proportion or weight, to forfeit the value as if good, and full weight and proportion to the public Treasury of the Province, whether it be the merchandize of the Indian or that of the Planters.

[1]See full document in "Pennsylvania Archives," Vol. I.

Twelfthly. And forasmuch as it is usual with the planters to over-reach the poor natives of the Country in Trade, by Goods not being good of the kind, or debased with mixtures, with which they are sensibly aggrieved, it is agreed, whatever is sold to the Indians, in consideration of their furs, shall be sold in the market place, and there suffer the test, whether good or bad; if good to pass; if not good, not to be sold for good, that the natives may not be abused nor provoked.

Thirteenthly. That no man shall by any ways or means, in word or deed, affront or wrong any Indian, but he shall incur the same penalty of the law as if he had committed it against his fellow planters; and if any Indian shall abuse, in Word or Deed, any planter of this province, that he shall not be his own Judge upon the Indian, but he shall make his complaint to the Governor of the province, or his Lieutenant or Deputy, or some inferior magistrate near him, who shall, to the utmost of his power, take care with the king of the said Indian, that all reasonable Satisfaction be made to the said injured planter.

Fourteenthly.—That all differences between the Planters and the natives shall also be ended by Twelve men, that is, by Six planters and Six natives, that so we may live friendly together as much as in us lieth, preventing all occasions of Heart burnings and mischief.

Fifteenthly.—That the Indians shall have liberty to do all things relating to improvement of their Ground, and providing sustenance for the families, that any of the planters shall enjoy. . . . . .

Eighteenthly.—That in clearing the ground, care be taken to leave one acre of trees for every five acres cleared, especially to preserve oak and mulberries, for silk and shipping. . . .

Sealed and delivered in the presence of WILLIAM PENN.

[Signed also by Humphrey South, Thomas Barker, Samuel Jobson, John Joseph Moore, William Powel, Richard Davies, Griffith Jones, Hugh Lambe, Thomas Farrinborough, John Goodson, William Boelham, Harbert Springett, Thomas Rudyard.]

CHAPTER VII

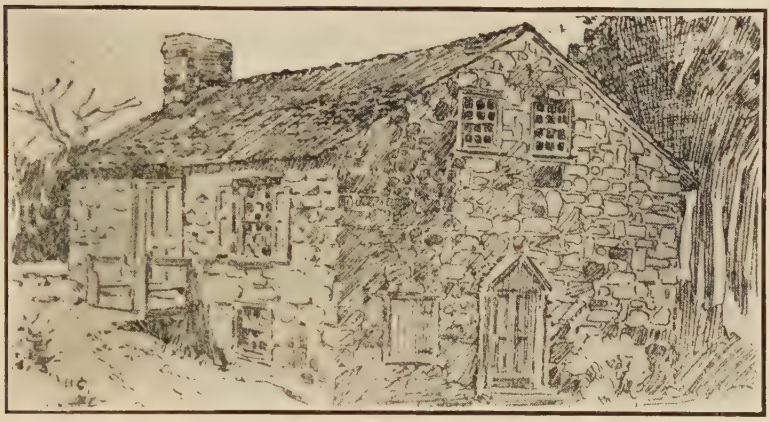
THE BEGINNINGS OF PENN'S COLONY—1681-1700

WHILE Penn had been busy with preparations in England, some progress had been made on the Delaware, under the new charter. We have seen that Lieut.-Gov. Markham reached New York in June (1681.) He found in charge there Captain Anthony Brockholls, deputy governor, Major Andros having gone to England in January to defend his administration of the Duke of York's colonies. Brockholls inspected the documents which Markham brought, acknowledged their validity, and gave him a letter to the settlers within the Pennsylvania limits, notifying them of the grant to Penn, and directing them to yield due submission to the new Proprietary.

This letter has the date of June 21. Just a week earlier the Upland Court had been sitting at Kingsesse, and concluding its varied business, judicial and executive, had adjourned to the second Tuesday of September. Appended in its "Record," without date of entry, is found Captain Brockholl's order, and no further proceedings of the Court are recorded. Markham no doubt presented his letter to the justices, and announced to them and the settlers that once more a change of government had been decreed. On the 3d of August he assembled at Upland a Council of nine persons, as Penn had directed. The nine included two Swedes, Otto Ernest Cock and Lasse Cock, and seven of the English settlers, Robert Wade, James Sandilands, Thomas Fairman, Morgan Drewet, William Woodmanson, William Warner, and William Clayton.

This organization of the Council at Upland, August 3, 1681, may be regarded as the formal beginning of the government of the Colony, now the State of Pennsylvania. Unfortunately no record of its proceedings remains.

A little later, September 13, a new Court, under the new authority, convened at Upland, and resumed the administration of



Ancestral Home of the Lincolns

Built about 1725 by the great-great-grandfather of President Lincoln; it is situated about eight miles south of Reading. From a sketch in possession of D. E. Brinton

justice on practically the same lines as the old one. Markham had appointed a larger number of justices; the two Cocks, and two other Swedes, Swan Swanson and Andreas Bankson, with Clayton, Warner, Wade, William Biles, and Robert Lucas, sat at the first Court; while at the next one, in November, Markham was himself present and also Thomas Fairman and James Sandilands. The court was acting evidently for the same territory as its predecessor, the Upland county which had been defined in 1677, and which still included in 1682 all the settlements then made, from Marcus Hook upward to the falls at Trenton.

In August Markham took up the business of the Maryland boundary line. It is unlikely that he had an adequate idea of its complications and difficulties. He had in charge two letters for Lord Baltimore, one a missive from the King himself, and the other from Penn. Charles advised the Maryland Proprietary of the grant he had made to Penn, and desired him to appoint "with all convenient speed" a person or persons to meet Penn's representatives, and determine the location of their boundary line. After organizing his government, therefore, as the August days were running out, and the malaria of autumn was ready to rise along his way, Markham set off for Maryland, and reaching Lord Baltimore's house on the Patuxent late in the month, presented his two letters. These his Lordship only read, and—according to his own account—assured Markham that proper respect would be given them. But nothing further was accomplished at this time. Markham's ride had been too much for him. "By reason of the great heats," he says, he fell ill—experiencing that fever of the country which the Swedes and Dutch had suffered from—and being taken into Lord Baltimore's house, "continued very dangerously so for the space of three weeks and better."[1] Recovering at last, he returned to Pennsylvania, having arranged with Lord Baltimore for a further meeting on the 16th of October, when they might ascertain the location of the 40th degree of north latitude. Markham agreed also to procure from Colonel Lewis Morris, at New York, "a sextile of six or seven foot radius," to take the necessary observa-

[1]The successions in "the peerage," with changes of titular dignitaries, are confusing to the republican mind. This Lord Baltimore in whose house Markham lay, was Charles, the third baron—son of Cecilius, son of George. The following list may make the case plain:

1. George, 1st Baron Baltimore, d. April 15, 1631-2. (The grant of Maryland had been assured him, but he died before receiving it.)

2. Cecilius, 2d Baron, 1st Proprietary. He received the grant, under date June 20, 1632. He died 1675. He never visited Maryland.

3. Charles, 3d Baron, 2d Proprietary. He came to Maryland in 1661, as Governor for his father, was absent between May, 1669, and November, 1670, succeeded to the title 1675, returned to England, June, 1676, came again to Maryland, 1679, and acted as Governor to 1684, when he repaired to

tions, Colonel Morris's "being ye only fitt instrument yt could be heard of." But Markham had a tedious passage up the Chesapeake, and wrote on the 25th of September from the "head of the Bay," asking for more time to send to Colonel Morris for the sextile. After he got home he had a return of his fever and ague, and was, he says, "very ill," so that he was obliged to write Lord Baltimore, proposing to postpone the meeting till spring. It happened that his lordship had also written, October 8, saying he "could not come up that year for fear of ye ffrost," and the two letters crossed each other on the way. The business, therefore went over to next year.

Descriptions of Pennsylvania, as Markham saw it, remain to us in letters sent home by him in December (1681). They are dated at Upland on the 7th of that month. "It is a fine country," he says, *"if it were not so overgrown with woods,* and very healthy. Here people live to be over 100 years of age." Provisions are "indifferent plentiful, venison especially." He had seen four bucks bought for less than five shillings, the Indians killing them only for their skins, and if the whites would not buy the carcass, letting it "hang and rot on a Tree." Wild fowl were plenty in winter; partridges he was "cloyed with." "In the fall of the leaf, or after harvest, here are abundance of wild turkeys, which are mighty easie to be shot; ducks, mallard, geese, and swans in abundance wild; fish are in great plenty." He found

London to press his boundary claims against Penn, and did not again visit Maryland. He d. Feb. 20, 1714-15.

4. Benedict Leonard, 4th Baron, 3d Proprietary. He was nominally Governor, 1684, upon the departure of his father, though W. Hand Browne ("History of Maryland," p. 127), says he was never in Maryland. He survived his father only a few weeks, dying April 5, 1715.

5. Charles, 5th Baron, 4th Proprietary. He was a minor at his father's death. It was he who made, in 1732, the agreement with the sons of William Penn for the running of the boundary line. He came to Maryland in 1736. He died April, 1751.

6. Frederick, 6th Baron, 5th Proprietary. It was he whom Lord Chancellor Hardwick's decision compelled to keep the boundary agreement of 1732. He is called by that ardent Maryland partisan, Prof. Browne ("History of Maryland," p. 217), "a selfish and grasping voluptuary, who cared only for his province, which he never visited, as a source of revenue for his pleasures." His death, in 1771, closed the list of the Maryland Lords Baltimore.

"abundance of good fruits; all sorts of apples, cherries, pears, good plumbs," with "peaches as good as any in the world, some they feed their hoggs with, and some they distill, and make of it a

Member of Governor's Council, 1708; speaker of the Assembly, 1712; mayor of Philadelphia, 1724; owner of Norristown

sort of brandy." Mulberries were abundant; the hogs fed on chestnuts and acorns; grapes grew wild in the woods; "mellons, both *mus* and *water,* as good as can be." In fishing sturgeon were so plenty in the river as to break the nets put out for smaller fish

—"they leap into the boats very often." "We have," he adds, "very good horses, and the men ride madly on them; they make nothing of riding eighty miles, and when they get to their journey's end turn their horses into a field; they never shoe them."

The ships that are said to have come this autumn to the Delaware have already been named. Whether there were more than two, the *John and Sarah* and the *Bristol Factor,* is doubtful. The latter, it is said by Proud, came to Upland on the 11th of December, "where the passengers, seeing some houses, went on shore, at Robert Wade's landing, near the lower side of Chester creek, and the river having froze up that night, the passengers remained all winter."

In the spring the new life of the young colony awoke with vigor. This year, 1682, stands out in the story of Pennsylvania as the time of her heroic and hopeful beginnings. As the river cleared of ice, the three commissioners, Haige, Allen, and Bezar, began their surveys and soundings to determine the location of the "capital city." Holme had not yet arrived, but Markham employed Thomas Fairman, whose house at Shackamaxon, the best probably above Upland, was used as a boarding-place and rendezvous. An account against Penn, rendered him years afterward, and not finally settled until 1713, gives us interesting clues as to this. Its first item, in 1682, is "for taking the courses and the sounding of the channel of the Delaware, seven weeks with Captain Markham, £10," and other items are: "To victuals and drink put on board the shallop at sundry times, £3. To my attendance at first commission with William Hague, Nat. Allen, and John Beazor, no charge. To my taking the courses of Schuylkill, etc., for sounding and placing Philadelphia upon Schuylkill river, etc., £6. To lodging Capt. Markham and William Hague in my house, with diet and liquors for treats, £7."

That the site of the city was chosen without long delay, after the river had cleared of ice, and soundings could be taken—in Fairman's "shallop" probably—seems certain, for word of the

place decided on must have reached London by July 14. On that date James Claypoole, not yet ready himself to depart, wrote from that city: "I have 100 acres where our Capitoll City is to be, upon ye River near Schoolkill and Peter Cock's. There I intend to plant and build my house," etc. It does not seem probable that extended consideration would be given to any other place than the one where Philadelphia now stands. Upland had been suggested in Penn's instructions, and it is said Pennsbury was proposed, but the junction of the Schuylkill, the front on two rivers, the bold shore of Coaquanock and the deep channel that flowed before it, must have appealed convincingly to Markham and the commissioners.

Late in June, Thomas Holme arrived in the *Amity*. He promptly joined the other commissioners and surveyors, assuming the leadership in the work, as Surveyor-General.

Following the selection of the city's site, two other matters of importance engaged Markham's attention before Penn's arrival—treaties with the Indians, and further conferences with Lord Baltimore. The former, in our histories, is usually dealt with briefly. There is in the State archives the record of an Indian purchase made by Markham, on the 15th of July of this year. The native grantors were Idquahon and thirteen other chiefs or "sachemakers," whose names, phonetically spelled, it it would be useless to give here, and the land conveyed included all of four townships and parts of three others in the lower end of Bucks county. The line began on the Delaware "at a certain white oak in the land now in the tenure of John Wood, and by him called the Gray Stones, over against the Falls of the Delaware river," upward "to a corner-marked spruce tree, with the letter P, at the foot of a mountain," then "along by the ledge of the mountains to a corner white-oak, marked with the letter P, standing by an Indian path that leads to an Indian town called Playwickey, and near the head of a creek called Towsissink, and from thence went to the creek called Neshamony's creek," down

that stream to the Delaware, and then up its bank to John Wood's white oak. The upper corner on the river was near Morrisville, where John Wood was a land-owner; the corner spruce at the foot of the mountain stood on Knowles creek, in Upper Makefield township; the stream Towsissink is a branch of Lahaska creek.

Markham paid the Indians for this three hundred guilders in money, and a long list of the articles they prized—three hundred and fifty fathoms of wampum, twenty white blankets, twenty fathoms of "stroudwaters," sixty fathoms of "duffields," and scores of kettles, guns, coats, shirts, hoes, axes, saws, drawing knives, barrels of powder, bars of lead, knives, glasses, pairs of shoes, copper boxes, tobacco-tongs, pipes, scissors, combs, awls, fish-hooks, needles, ankers of tobacco, rum, cider, and beer—a formidable list indeed, and such as would have made Printz's heart glad if he had had half as much for the fur trade at Tinicum or Christina, thirty-five years before.

Though we have no earlier record of a purchase by Markham from the Indians, and none before this figures in Pennsylvania history under the Penn rule, it is not clear that there was not a previous purchase. In his account, later, of his controversy with Lord Baltimore, in that year, Markham says that on the 22d of May he received a letter from Baltimore dated May 14, proposing a meeting "ye beginning of ye next month." This, Markham says, conflicted with his business engagements, "ye which at that time was very urgent; *for haveing engaged to pay ye Indians for the land I had bought of them,* before ye middle of June, in expectation of which they deferr'd their hunting till it was almost too late for that year," etc., etc. This is circumstantial. It plainly seems not to refer to a purchase made so late as July 15, but to one already concluded before the 22d of May—when he received the letter from Lord Baltimore—and for which he was to pay the Indians before June 15.

If there was such an earlier purchase, we may readily presume it to have covered the shore of the river south of the purchase

made in July—in fact, the site of Philadelphia. Markham notes in his account that the purchase and the payment to be made for it were highly important, since Penn's plan was to place no settler on unbought land. Had he not, then, made an agree-

Logan Arms

ment for Philadelphia before he met the chiefs to buy the Bucks land?

Some time after Markham's visit to Maryland, and his illness there, but whether in the autumn of that year (1681) or the following spring is not certain, William Haige, the commissioner—as Lord Baltimore relates—made observations "att the head of the Bay," and subsequently visited Baltimore at his house on the Patuxent river. There his lordship questioned him closely, ask-

ing him "whether he had not taken Some observations at Elk river for his private satisfaction," which Haige, thus pressed, at last "own'd," but said that the instrument he used "was so small there could be no Certainty"—admitting thus that the observations had not pleased him, and indicating that he found the head of the Chesapeake south of the fortieth parallel of latitude.

Stenton

The Logan homestead near Germantown; built 1727. Photographed especially for this work from canvas in Historical Society of Pennsylvania

May 14 (1682) Lord Baltimore wrote Captain Markham "to signifie that he appointed the 10th of June to meet him with persons to settle the bounds." This letter, mentioned above, reached Markham May 22. He was then absorbed in the Indian purchases. The sextile had not come from New York. He wrote, therefore, on the 26th of May, asking a later day for the appointment, and sent it by an express, going himself to New York for the instrument, as it would not be lent unless he personally became security for its safe return. But the Maryland Commissioners would not—at least did not—wait. Riding northward,

they halted June 10 at Augustine Herman's, at Bohemia Manor, and took some observations there. Then they came on to New Castle, where they found a sloop from New York lying at the river bank, with Colonel Morris's sextile on board. Markham had sent it around by water, while he rode overland. He had not yet arrived. The commissioners demanded the sextile of Cregier, the Dutch "skipper" of the sloop. He, let us hope, demurred. The audacity of the demand surely cannot be denied.

And now, while Markham is riding over through the New Jersey woods, and the Maryland men are arguing with Cregier, let us consider more precisely what the Boundary Dispute was. The subject will vex our narrative at intervals for eighty years.

There were two definite causes of difference between William Penn and Lord Baltimore. The first of these related to the proprietorship of the Delaware Colony, called later the "Three Lower Counties," now the State of Delaware. The second related to the location of the northern boundary of Maryland—which would be also the southern line of Pennsylvania. Both of the differences grew primarily out of the obscure wording of Lord Baltimore's grant, and its obscurity arose from the imperfect geographical knowledge of America, in England, in 1632, when the grant was made.

As to the Delaware colony, the first question was whether it was excluded from Lord Baltimore's grant by the clause *"hactenus inculta?"* Was it an uncultivated region, inhabited only by "savages," when the Maryland charter was drawn? The answer to this is difficult. De Vries had planted a colony there before 1632, but it had been broken up. When Lord Baltimore received his parchment it is unlikely that any white man was living on the west bank of the Delaware. The question, therefore, can be argued either way.

If Lord Baltimore's grant extended to the fortieth parallel of north latitude, wherever that might be, and *if* the Delaware Colony was not excluded from his grant by the clause *"hactenus*

inculta," then his case was won at both points. But in each particular he fell short. His patent did not say that his grant extended to the fortieth parallel. It said: "and between that boundary on the south *unto that part of the bay of Delaware on the north which lieth under the fortieth degree of latitude,* where New England is terminated. . . and passing from the said Delaware bay in a right line with the degree aforesaid."

This description, it will be seen, is a limited one. It does not extend Maryland to the fortieth parallel unqualifiedly, but to a "part" of Delaware bay lying "under the fortieth degree." This was exasperatingly vague. It happens that no part of Delaware bay is touched by the fortieth parallel. Does the expression "under the fortieth degree" mean the space north of the *thirty-ninth* parallel? This suggestion was made at one time, in the course of the long dispute. Is the location of the line limited by the necessity of its crossing Delaware bay? That also was insisted upon.

The fact was that when Lord Baltimore received his grant it was supposed that the fortieth parallel crossed Delaware bay near its head, probably about New Castle. The maps of Captain John Smith, the best and perhaps the only ones available in England when that charter was drawn, suggest this, if they do not definitely show it. And when the grant to Penn was drawn up, and it was provided that part of his southern boundary should be "a circle drawn at twelve miles distance from New Castle northward and westward unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of northern latitude," the same impression prevailed. It would have been absurd to employ this description had it then been known or supposed that the fortieth degree lay far more than twelve miles north of New Castle.

As to the condition of the west bank of the Delaware in the year 1632, argument could be made either way, as has already been said. But it was undeniable that from the day of De Vries and Swanendael on down, there had been an almost continuous

occupancy by white men, a possession adverse to Lord Baltimore. A government had been definitely established and regularly administered, and except in the demand of Colonel Utie, in 1659, and the lawless raid of his men at the Horekill later, Baltimore had suffered this to exist and grow without serious challenge. To hand the Delaware colony over to him, in 1682, would have been to ignore and reverse the course of half a century.

Lesser Seal of Province

It may be asked here, What did Lord Baltimore mean when he proposed to the Committee of Trade and Plantations, in 1680, that Penn's southern line be drawn at "the Susquehanna Fort?" and what did Penn mean by acceding to that suggestion? It is impossible to say, because we do not know what place either of them had in mind. The palisaded town of the Susquehannocks, we have seen, was probably north of the present line of Pennsylvania, but several witnesses afterward—about 1735—testified in the suit in chancery over the boundary, that there was formerly an Indian fort on the Susquehanna, at the junction of the Conewago—the lower stream of that name—in what is now Cecil county, Maryland. Perhaps that "fort" was the one Penn had in mind. A line drawn east and west through it would pass just north of New Castle.

In the long run there was nothing practicable in a case of such complication but to have a tribunal of competent jurisdiction decree a solution, or for the parties themselves to agree on one. Both of these things finally happened. As to the Delaware Colony the royal privy council decided in 1685, and again in 1709, that Lord Baltimore had not a good claim to it, and as to the boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania it was settled by agreement of the Penn heirs, and the Lord Baltimore of the time, in 1732, and the Lord Chancellor of England, in 1750, decreed a "specific performance" of the contract thus made—all of which, in due time, this narrative will record. In each instance Penn and his heirs won their whole case. The Lower Counties were awarded him. The southern line of Pennsylvania was run where he would have been satisfied to have it from the very outset of the dispute. Lord Baltimore gained nothing by the long controversy. And indeed, we may remark one thing here: that Pennsylvania was assailed on three sides, south, west, and north, about her boundary; Maryland, Virginia, and Connecticut all beset her; and in every case she won all she claimed. Her neighbors' covetous encroachments came utterly to naught in the end.

Knowing all this, as we now do, after two hundred years, we can regard with composure what Markham then could not, the surrender of the sextile in his absence to the Maryland men, at New Castle. "With some difficulty and many entreaties," they prevailed on the captain, they took the instrument off the sloop, they set it up, and "in a very Cleer day, being on the 27th of June, 1682, they found the Latitude of the place of observation, which was in the Towne of New Castle, to be thirty-nine degrees, forty-nine minutes."

Upon this the Commissioners waited no longer for Markham, but rode away homeward. Next day he reached New Castle. To say that he was chagrined and indignant is to describe his state of mind feebly. He says the Commissioners "did by ye means of the Dutch inhabitants of ye Towne procure the Master

(he being a Dutch man) to bring it [the sextile] on shoare, and there they used it . . . a Confidence I never mett the like—to dare to touch an Instrument that was to be used by the Contrarie parties, and so privately that no ffriend of ours was by."

In September the subject was resumed. Lord Baltimore now came himself to Upland with an imposing retinue. Those attending him included Colonel Coursey, Major Seawell, Major Sawyer, four Commissioners, "and forty men Armed with Carbines, pistolls and Swords!" They rode by way of New Castle, and lodged at Upland the night of the 23d, Lord Baltimore at the hospitable house of Robert Wade, where Markham usually made his home when in the town. The next day, the 24th, was the Sabbath, and Markham was expecting to observe it, considering it not "a day of business," but the Marylanders insisted upon going on with the observations. An instrument which had been sent over by Penn was at hand, but Markham said that it was not in order for use. The one borrowed from Colonel Morris was therefore procured; it was "brought forth," Baltimore's narrative says, "by one Richard Noble, a Quaker, who sett the same up and it being a very clear day observation was taken therewith by the said Noble, as likewise by those Artists the Lord Baltimore had with him, and they all agreed that ye Latitude of Upland was by the Sextile of Coll. Morris in 39 degrees, 47 minutes, and five seconds." Thereupon Lord Baltimore formally declared that he claimed Upland to be within his grant, and desired "to goe further up the river" to fix the fortieth parallel, "wherever it was to be found." To this demand Markham refused assent. He produced Penn's grant, "under the great seale of England," and showed that it gave him "from twelve miles distance northward of New Castle Towne." But, said Lord Baltimore, the king could not give this away; his father had already granted it to my father. To which Markham replied that it was not for him to presume the king had made a mistake; he was there by the royal authority, and it was his duty to maintain what had been

placed in his charge. The discussion degenerated into something of a wrangle. One of the Maryland Commissioners demanded how a twelve-mile circle from New Castle could be drawn to touch the fortieth parallel, and when Markham essayed an explanation, some of them jeeringly remarked, "His Majesty must have long compasses!" To which Markham rejoined that "he hoped they would not limmet his Majesty's Compasses!"

The upshot of the meeting was a flat defiance on both sides. Baltimore pressed his demand to go further north, to establish the parallel, and Markham again refused. Then, said Baltimore, give me your refusal in writing, to which Markham agreed. The letter, written later, says: "My Lord, this is my reason, that as I received all yt part of the river Delaware beginning 12 miles above New Castle Towne and so uppwards ffrom the Government of New York, which is according to the Express words of his Majesty's Letters Patent to our Proprietary, William Penn Esquire, I most humbly conceive that I am not to be accomptable to any other person than his Majesty or Royall Highness for any part of this Province lying upon Delaware river and soe bounded." He added, verbally, that he "would keep it untill his Master Penn's arrival, which he did not doubt would be very shortly, and desired his lordship would refer all to his Coming."

Lord Baltimore, however, would refer nothing. He set off with his party southward. Taking boat at Upland, he "went to Markiss Hook at Chichester, and there went ffrom house to house, prohibiting the inhabitants to pay any more quitt rents to Mr. Penn, as the land was his, and that he would suddenly returne and take possession of it." Thence he proceeded in his boat to New Castle, and from there rode back to Maryland. He waited, he says, two days at New Castle for Markham to confer further, and Markham, in his "Account," says he would have gone down to see Lord Baltimore, but the members of his Council dissuaded him, urging that nothing useful was likely to result

from further conference. Their advice was no doubt good; William Penn was now half way across the Atlantic, and no one was so competent as himself to direct his side of the controversy.

Original Log College Building

In 1721, Rev. William Tennent established a small school at Bensalem; later he moved to Neshaminy and in 1727 had built for college work the log cabin shown. From this beginning has developed Princeton University. The illustration is from the Presbytery of the Log College, by Thomas Murphy, D. D.

The ship in which the Proprietary and Governor was now approaching the Delaware capes is that one which especially represents for Pennsylvania the romance of its colonial beginnings. She was the *Welcome,* a vessel of about three hundred tons. Her master was Robert Greenaway. She had embarked her passengers, about one hundred in number, at London, late in August, and falling down the Thames, had cleared from the mouth of the

river on the last day of the month, and spread her sails for the western world. Penn was of course the chief figure on board, the leader to whom all turned. But we know little of the details of the voyage. Storms they escaped, but not the ravages of disease. The small-pox, scourge of that day and of a century thereafter, until Jenner's great discovery, broke out on board. Men, women and children died, and their bodies were sadly committed to the deep. Four men, John Barber, Thomas Heriott, Isaac Ingram, and William Wade, made their wills on board, and these were proved when the ship arrived from Philadelphia, so that we count them from this evidence as among the dead. Thomas Fitzwater, a member of the Provincial Assembly the next year, lost his wife Mary and two children, Josiah and Mary. Altogether, according to the account of Richard Townsend, of London, one of the company, "about thirty" died. There were births also; two young infants were carried on shore when the ship landed; to Evan Oliver and his wife Jean was added Seaborn, a daughter, born at sea, October 24, "almost within sight of the Capes of the Delaware," and to Richard Townsend and his wife Anne, a son, James, born after the ship had come into Delaware bay. Penn himself escaped the infection of the small-pox, and labored assiduously to comfort and encourage his afflicted companions in the crowded little ship. "His singular care," says Richard Townsend, "was manifested in contributing to the necessities of many who were sick of the small-pox, then on board, out of which company about thirty died." His "good conversation," he adds, "was very advantageous to all the company."

The voyage was of about the average length for a ship of that day. Practically two months passed from the departure from the Thames to the arrival at New Castle, but nearly a fortnight of this had been spent in passing around the southern coast of England. In a letter written by Penn after his arrival, he said, "that day six weeks they lost sight of land in England they saw

it again in America; and being about twelve leagues off from the coast the air smelled as sweet as a garden new blown."

On what day the *Welcome* came inside the capes is not precisely known, but the 24th of October is the date commonly assigned. Penn's letter just cited says—according to Philip Ford's summary: "As they sailed up the river they received visits and invitations from the inhabitants, the people being joyful to see him; both Dutch, Swedes and English coming up to New Castle, they received and entertained him with great expressions of joy after their sort." The records of New Castle County (Delaware) show that October 27 the *Welcome* came before New Castle town. Penn did not immediately land, but sent a messenger ashore to notify the two commissioners, John Moll and Ephraim Herman, whom the Duke of York, in the deeds of release and feoffment to Penn, had authorized to make delivery of his rights. Herman was absent, but Moll came on board the ship, inspected the deeds, and was satisfied of their significance.

Next day, the 28th, Penn landed. The settlers had been summoned, and had gathered in to look upon this new ruler, the Quaker who claimed authority as against Lord Baltimore. Swedes were there who had seen Printz, if not Minuit, and many, Swedish and Dutch, who remembered Stuyvesant's campaign against Risingh in 1655, and Carr's swoop upon D'Hinoyossa in 1664. By formal ceremony, Moll and Herman now delivered the town and the twelve miles surrounding it to Penn. Going to the little "fort," they handed him the key, "to lock upon himself alone the door, which being opened by him again they did deliver also unto him one turf, with a twig upon it, a porringer with river water and soil." Then the settlers gathered at "the court-house," and Penn "made a speech to the old Magistrates and the people," explaining his plans and assuring all "of their spiritual and temporal rights, liberty of conscience and civil freedoms." All he "prayed, expected, or required" of them, he said, was "sobriety and loving neighborhood."

The delivery of the remainder of the Delaware colony, under the other of the two deeds from the Duke, was made to Markham as Penn's representative, by Moll and Herman, on the 7th of the next month, "at the house of Captain Edward Cantwell, at the south side of Appoquinimy Creek."

Leaving New Castle, the *Welcome* came on up the river. On the following day, the 29th, she lay before Upland. Penn went ashore, and for the first time set foot in his Province. His boat brought him to the beach in front of Robert Wade's house—already well known to us—and the hospitable doors of the mansion swung wide to welcome him.[1] At Upland he remained a day or two. Letters and documents signed by him are dated there on October 29 and on November 1. On the 2d of November he was at New Castle, attending the sitting of the justices.

That Penn changed the name of Upland to Chester soon after his arrival there, and at the suggestion of a passenger on the *Welcome* named Pearson, has long been an accepted and accredited story. It is, however, very dubious, and probably not true. No such person as Pearson can be identified as a friend or companion of Penn, or as a passenger on the *Welcome*. It is true that the name of the town was changed, and unquestionably it was done by Penn's order. The time is pretty definitely shown. Penn's letter home, November 1, 1682, refers to the place as Upland, but that of December 16 following contains the phrase, "Chester alias Upland." Confining the change within still narrower bounds, Penn's writ to the sheriffs of the lower counties, convoking the first Assembly, dated November 8, summons the delegates to meet "at Upland," but the certification of the laws, over the signature of Penn, as Governor, December 7, is "Given at

[1]Wade's house stood at what is now the northwest corner of Penn and Front streets, in the city of Chester. "It stood, though in ruins, until about 1800." (Martin, "History of Chester.") The exact spot of Penn's landing was marked, in the middle of the 19th century, by a pine-tree, planted under the auspices of John M. Broomall (afterwards Member of Congress), and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The Bartram House

Home of John Bartram; physician; author; founder in 1728 of the first botanical garden in the United States; house built 1731. Photo by J. F. Sachse

Chester, alias Upland." The old Swedish name of the town thus ended, and the English one was assumed.

Precisely when Penn proceeded to Philadelphia is uncertain. We have seen that on the 29th of October and the 1st of November he was writing letters at Chester, and on the 2d of November was at the Court at New Castle. Thus he may have visited Philadelphia on October 29 or 30, or on November 3, or a later day. He would have been eager, certainly, to see the "capital city."

The traditions have always described him as going up from Chester in an open boat, or barge, and as landing at Philadelphia at the place where Dock creek emptied into the river. This was the "public landing place" of a somewhat later time. On the bank near by was a little tavern, the "Blue Anchor," kept then by William Dare, a "master mariner," and subsequently by George Bartholomew—perhaps also by Alice Guest, and ever since a familiar place in the early history of Philadelphia.

At the beginning of November, 1682, when he stepped upon the bank-side at Philadelphia, William Penn was a little more than thirty-eight years old. He had passed his birthday on the ocean a fortnight before. His feelings, as he reached the site of his city, we may imagine. Its name, if unknown to others, he had himself determined, for in a letter which he addressed two years later to the colonists he uses the expression, "And thou, Philadelphia, the virgin settlement of this province, *named before thou wast born.*[1] "

He led the way up the river bank to the little tavern with emotions that may well have moved his large and generous heart. The plans he had evolved, the hopes he had indulged, for this "holy experiment" of Pennsylvania, appeared now to give promise of fruition.

We have seen that the city had been laid out by the Commissioners during the summer, before Penn's arrival. His instructions to them, given nearly a year before, had been in the main followed. But he had conceived his plan of the city on quite too generous a scale. They had found it impossible to lay out the ten thousand acres he had proposed, and had contented themselves with about twelve hundred and eighty. The plotting had been directed by Thomas Holme, and drawings of it, published in London in 1683, and since then many times reproduced,

[1] That Philadelphia's name came from the city of Asia Minor, mentioned in the Apocalypse, is most probable. But the meaning of the Greek words forming the name—brotherly love—was very likely to commend it to Penn.—See Note in "Memorial History of Philadelphia," H. M. Jenkins, Vol. I., p. 36.

show the city extending from the Delaware to the Schuylkill, and from Vine street to South. This was the "old city" or "city proper" of Philadelphia from 1682 to the "consolidation" of 1854, when the municipal limits were extended to cover the whole county. Philadelphia was thus made slightly over two miles long, from east to west, and rather more than one mile from north to south. Half way between the rivers was the Broad street, one hundred feet wide, and where the High street (now Market) crossed this a public square of ten acres was reserved, "at each angle to build houses for public affairs"—"the state-house, the market-house, school-house and chief meeting-house of the Quakers," as Oldmixon, writing twenty-five years later, explained. Four other public squares, "in each quarter of the city," known to us as Washington, Franklin, Logan and Rittenhouse squares, were reserved as well, "to be for the like uses as Moorfields, in London."

Few of the houses of the new city could have been actually built when Penn arrived. Some had been begun. To clear the title to the whole of the city plot arrangements were made with those of the Swedes who had secured grants within it to give those up and take other land. The situation about Philadelphia, as the immigrants who came at the close of the summer (1682) saw it may be learned from the letter of Edward Jones, a Welsh physician[1]—a "chirurgeon," in the phrase of his day—who arrived in the ship *Lyon,* John Compton master. This ship had cleared from Liverpool and reached Upland about the middle of August (1682), after a voyage of eleven weeks from land to land, and one more coming up the Delaware. "It was not for want of art, but contrary winds" that the voyage was so

[1]Dr. Edward Jones was an interesting figure of the settlement period. He was the son-in-law of Dr. Thomas Wynne, who came in the *Welcome* with Penn, and who was the Speaker of the Assembly, 1683-4, and later. Edward Jones's daughter Martha married John Cadwalader, and was thus the ancestress of the family of that name; his (Edward's) son, Jonathan Jones, was the father of Owen Jones, who was Provincial Treasurer of Pennsylvania from 1769 to 1776.

long. The supplies of food held out, however. "We wanted," Edward Jones says, "neither meate, drink, or water. . . . Our ordinary allowance of beer was 3 pints a day for each whole head, and a quart of water, 3 biskedd a day and sometimes more. We have oatmeal to spare, but it is well yt we have it, for here is little or no corn [wheat] till they begin to sow." None died on the voyage, he says, "save one child" and it "of a surfeit."

"We are short of our expectation" he goes on to say, "by reason that the town is not to be builded at Upland, neither would ye master bring us any further, though it is navigable for ships of greater burthen than ours. Ye name of [the] town lots is called Wicaco; here is a crowd of people striving for ye country land, for ye town lot is not divided, and therefore we are forced to take up the country lots. We had much ado to get a grant of it; it costs us 4 or 5 days attendance, besides some score of miles we traveled before we brought it to pass. I hope it will please thee and the rest yt are concerned, for it hath most rare timber, I have not seen the like in all these parts.[1] There is water enough besides; the end of each lot will be on a river as large or larger than the Dye [Dee] at Bala [Wales]. It is to be called Skool Kill. . . The people generally are Swede. . . We are amongst the English, which sent us both venison and new milk, and the Indians brought venison to our door for six pence ye quarter. . . There are stones enough to be had at the falls of the Skool Kill, that is where we are to settle, and water enough for mills, but thou must bring Millstones and ye irons yt belong to it, for Smiths are dear. Iron is about two and thirty, or forty shillings per hundred, steel about 1s. 6d. per pound . . . grindle stones yield good profit here. Ordinary workmen hath 1s. 6d. a day, carpenters 3 or 4 shillings a day. Here are sheep, but dear, about 20 shillings apiece. I cannot understand how they

[1]He is describing the tract in the present township of Lower Marion, in Montgomery county; it appears on Thomas Holme's map as that of "Edward Jones and Company, 17 Families."

can be carried from England. . . . Taylors hath 5s. and 6s. a day. . . I would have thee bring salt for ye present use; here is coarse salt, sometimes two measures of it for one of wheat, and sometimes very dear. . . . Horse shoes are in no use. . . . . Good large shoes are dear; lead in small bars is

Kelso Ferry House opposite Harrisburg

Built 1732; oldest house west of the Susquehanna river now standing. From photo in possession of Historical Society of Dauphin County, Pennsylvania

vendible, but guns are cheap enough. . . . They use both hooks and sickles to reap with."

Of the seventy or more passengers, men, women and children, who landed from the *Welcome* at Upland or at Philadelphia, a few may have found shelter in their own homes. Some months earlier Penn had sent out a pamphlet describing minutely the construction of log houses; one of these, he said, thirty feet by eighteen, might be cut from the woods and made ready for occupancy, in six weeks. Some such huts were probably to be seen

in Philadelphia, as winter set in. But most of the newly arrived people must have been taken in by the older settlers, while some, it is probable, found shelter in caves dug in the bank of the Delaware. These caves were a feature of Philadelphia for years afterward. The letter of Penn from Upland, November 1 (as summarized by Philip Ford), says, "The city of Philadelphia is laid out, and many pretty houses are up of late, upon the river and backwards that do very well. An house for W. Penn is a-building." But this description must not be taken too literally. It does appear that Penn lived in a house of his own before the summer of 1683[1] and it is probable that the other "pretty houses," actually in occupancy in the autumn of 1682, were few.

The cordiality of the old settlers has already been mentioned. We have every reason to suppose that all hopefully and cheerfully welcomed the change of rule. There were now nearly a thousand of the Swedish blood. Penn, in his letter of description a year after his arrival, says: "The Dutch applied themselves to traffic, the Swedes and Friends to Husbandry. . . . The Swedes inhabit the freshes of the River Delaware. There is no need of giving any description of them, who are better known in England than here; but they are a plain, strong, industrious people, yet have made no great progress in the culture or propagation of fruit trees, as if they desired to have enough, rather than plenty for traffic. As they are a people proper and strong of body, so have they fine children, and almost every house full; rare to find one of them without three or four boys, and as many girls; some six, seven, and eight sons. And I must do them the justice to say that I find few young men more sober and industrious."

[1]The house that was "a-building" was the little brick dwelling, called the "Letitia House" (from Letitia Penn's subsequent ownership), which stood for two hundred years nearly in the center of the block bounded by Market, Chestnut, Front and Second streets, and was at last (1884) removed to Fairmount Park, where it now stands. It is said to have been the first house in the city that had a cellar.

Giving his time and energy now, first of all, to the affairs of his Colony, the recorded activities of the Governor and Proprietary for the next year and a half are nearly identical with the history of Pennsylvania itself. With little delay, after coming to Philadelphia, inspecting the plans of the city, and ordering some changes—expediting some business whose delays troubled Edward Jones—Penn went to New York to visit Captain Brockholls, the deputy governor there, as an act of respect to the Duke of York and of neighborly civility. He took with him the deeds of the Duke for the Delaware territory, and they were placed on record there, and the acts of Moll and Herman as the Duke's attorneys formally sanctioned by Brockholls and his Council in a proclamation dated November 21.

Returning to Philadelphia the next important work was the holding of the Assembly. Steps for its convening had been taken by Penn before the visit to New York. "We could not safely stay till the spring for a government," he says. Apparently the demand for a code more liberal in some particulars, more strict in others, than "the Duke's Laws," which Col. Nicolls had enacted at Hempstead fifteen years before, and which had been in force until now, was strong among the newly arrived settlers. On November 8 Penn had issued writs to the sheriffs of the three lower counties, directing them "to summon all freeholders" to meet on the 20th of that month, then to elect from among themselves seven persons from each county, "of most note for wisdom, sobriety and integrity," to serve as their deputies in "a General Assembly to be held at Upland, Pennsylvania, December 6 next," and then and there to consult with him "for the common good of the inhabitants of that province, and adjacent counties of New Castle, St. Jones, and Whorekill, alias Deal, under his charge and jurisdiction."

These writs show that Delaware had now formally been divided into three counties. New Castle county remains, but St. Jones was later renamed Kent, and Whorekill or New Deal be-

came Sussex. That the three "original" counties of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Bucks and Chester, were formed at or about the same time it is fair to presume. We have in the minutes of the first Assembly (December 4) a record of the attendance of Thomas Usher, "sheriff of Chester county." The seals designated for the Pennsylvania counties were: for Philadelphia an anchor, for Chester a plow, for Bucks a tree and vine. The first sheriffs of the three counties were John Test for Philadelphia, Richard Noble for Bucks, and Thomas Usher for Chester.

We have seen that the writs for Delaware prescribed the election of seven deputies from each county. How those for Pennsylvania ran we do not know. By the "Frame of Government" adopted in England the previous year, "all the freeman" of the Province who saw fit to do so were entitled to attend the first Assembly, and the preface to the "Votes and Proceedings" of that body as printed by Benjamin Franklin seventy years later (1752) refers to this fact. It says: "These Votes . . . . . begin with the meeting of so many of the Freemen as thought fit to appear, as they had a right to do, by the sixteenth Article of the original Frame of the Government, or Charter, to the end that there might be an universal satisfaction in laying the Fundamentals and establishing the Government and Laws of the Province." It seems unreasonable, however, that the Assembly could have been composed of chosen members, twenty-one in number, from three of the counties, and an unlimited delegation, attending voluntarily, from the other three. For the second Assembly, which met at Philadelphia in March following, one of the Pennsylvania writs has been preserved—that directed by Governor Penn to Sheriff Noble of Bucks—and it is highly probable that the form adopted for the first Assembly was similar. This writ for the March Assembly directs the sheriff "to summon all the freeholders" in his bailiwick to meet on the 20th day of February, "at the Falls upon Delaware River," there to "elect and choose" twelve persons of most note for wisdom and integrity "to serve as their

Birthplace of Benjamin West, Swarthmore

Photo by Louise D. Woodbridge

delegates in the provincial council to be held at Philadelphia the 10th day of the First month next" (March, 1682-3, O. S.), and "that thou there declare to the said freemen that they may all personally appear at an Assembly at the place aforesaid, according to the contents of my charter of liberties."

The probable formation of the first Assembly was that those acting were the delegates duly chosen; if others "attended" they took no formal part in the proceedings.

The Assembly convened at Chester on the 4th of December (1682). In what building it sat is a question in dispute. It was long said that it met in the meeting-house of the Friends, but inquiry showed that this was not built until 1693, eleven years later. The little "House of Defence," which had been built under the order of the Upland Court, in 1677, and which was the

court-house of Chester county until 1724, is designated by Dr. Smith, in his history of what is now Delaware county. Deborah Logan, in her notes upon the correspondence between William Penn and James Logan, asserts that the meeting-place of the Assembly was the large dwelling-house of James Sandiland, a much-admired mansion in its day, long known as the "double house."

We have no complete list of those who were members of this historic first Assembly. If seven deputies were chosen in each of the Pennsylvania counties, as was done in Delaware, making the body number forty-two, altogether, the names of more than half remain unknown. The names we have are these:

The sheriff of Whorekill county, John Vines, in his return, gives the names of the deputies chosen from that county—Edward Southrin, William Clark, Alexander Draper, John Roades, Luke Watson, Nathaniel Walker, and Cornelius Verhoof. Dr. Nicholas More, of Philadelphia, was elected Chairman. Several committees are recorded in the minutes—one on election privileges, one on grievances, one "on foresight for the preparation of provisional bills," and one on an address to the Governor. The names of those serving on these committees are given, and they add to our list the following: Philadelphia, Griffith Jones, Thomas Holme, Thomas Wynne; Bucks, William Yardley, Christopher Taylor; Chester, John Simcock, Thomas Brassey, Ralph Withers; New Castle, John Moll (in place of Abraham Mann, who was unseated for irregularity of election), and William Sample; Kent, Francis Whitwell and John Biggs.

We have thus the names of twenty members, and those of the other twenty-two remain unknown.

The first Assembly sat but four days. It adopted a series of rules for its own procedure, passed an act uniting the three Delaware counties with Pennsylvania, and conferring naturalization on the people, and enacted with some enlargement of scope and language the code of laws which had been "agreed upon in Eng-

land." On the 17th of December the Assembly adjourned, upon a resolution to meet again in twenty-one days—which, however, it did not do.

Without pausing to remark upon the somewhat quaint though quite pointed and plain rules of procedure, we may particularly speak of the Act of Union and the "Great Law." The incorporation of the "lower counties" with Pennsylvania, under one legislative and executive authority, was an end naturally desired by Penn, and the Delaware deputies, by John Moll and Francis Whitwell, presented a petition asking that it be done. The Assembly passed the act unanimously, and for twenty years, as we shall see, the union subsisted.

As for the "Great Law," or the "Body of Laws," it is a code which, if enforced, would work large and in the main salutary changes in the condition of modern society. It contemplated no compromise with evil doing, and it held as evil many things which after two centuries have come to be regarded as comparatively if not altogether innocent. First and foremost, however, the Great Law provided for those things in which the people were to enjoy liberty. "Whereas," says the preamble, "the glory of Almighty God, and the good of mankind, is the reason and end of government, and therefore government itself is a venerable ordinance of God; and forasmuch as it is principally intended . . . to make and establish such laws as shall best preserve true Christian and civil liberty, in opposition to all unchristian, licentious, and unjust practices, whereby God may have his due, Cæsar his due, and the people their due, from tyranny and oppression of the one side, and insolency and licentiousness of the other, so that the best and firmest foundation may be laid for the present and future happiness of both the governor and people of this province and territories aforesaid and their posterity—be it enacted," etc.

The first enacted section provides for liberty of conscience in matters of religion. "Almighty God," it declares, "being only

Lord of conscience, father of lights and spirits, and the author as well as object of all divine knowledge, faith, and worship, who only can enlighten the mind and persuade and convince the understanding of people in due reverence to his sovereignty over the souls of mankind; it is enacted . . . that no person now or at any time hereafter living in this province, who shall confess and acknowledge Almighty God to be the creator, upholder and ruler of the world, and that professeth him or herself obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly under the civil government, shall in any wise be molested or prejudiced for his or her conscientious persuasion or practice, nor shall he or she be at any time compelled to frequent any religious worship place or ministry whatever, contrary to his or her mind, but shall freely and fully enjoy his or her Christian liberty in that respect, without any interruption or reflection."

The qualification for deputies in the Assembly, for electors for such deputies, and for "all officers and persons commissionated and employed in the service of the government" was somewhat more restricted. Such persons must "profess and declare they believe Jesus Christ to be the son of God, and Saviour of the world." They were to be, moreover, at least twenty-one years old, and "not convicted of ill-fame, or unsober and dishonest conversation"—conduct, as we should now phrase it. And a further clause provided (as the second section of the Laws agreed upon in England had proposed), that all persons should be "freemen" of the Province, with the right of electing or being elected, who (1) had purchased a hundred acres of land, and "seated" it; (2) who had paid passage over, taken up a hundred acres, at a penny an acre, and seated it; (3) who had been a servant or bondsman, had become free, had taken up fifty acres and seated it; and finally (4) "every inhabitant, artificer, or other resident . . . that pays scot and lot to the Governor."

Provision as to morals covered, as has been suggested, a wide scope. Those who derided or abused others on account of their

religion were to be "looked upon as disturbers of the peace, and punished accordingly." Labor was to cease on the first day of the week, that all, "whether masters, parents, children, or servants," might read the Scriptures, or attend some place of worship. Swearing by the Divine names or by any other thing or name, speaking loosely or profanely of God, or Jesus Christ, or

Seal of Bucks County in 1738

"the Scriptures of truth," cursing one's-self or another, or anything belonging to him or any other—all these were offenses punishable by fines or by imprisonment in "the house of correction," at hard labor, with only bread and water for food.

But the penalty of death was limited to malicious and premeditated murder, a leniency of the law then unheard of. In England even trivial thefts were then capital offenses.

The several forms of sexual delinquency were provided against, drunkenness was punishable with fine or imprisonment, and drinking healths so as to lead to "unnecessary and excessive drinking" by a fine. The sale of liquor to the Indians was

strongly condemned, and punishment provided. "Whereas," says the law, "divers persons, as English, Dutch, Swedes, etc., have been wont to sell to the Indians rum and brandy and such distilled spirits, though they know the said Indians are not able to govern themselves in the use thereof, but do continuously drink to such excess as makes them sometimes destroy one another, and grievously annoy and disquiet the people of this province, and peradventure those of neighboring governments, whereby they make the poor natives worse and not better, for their coming among them;" it was enacted therefore that persons who should "presume to sell or exchange any rum, or brandy, or any strong liquors, at any time, to any Indian within this province," "should be fined five pounds."

An equal fine, or three months imprisonment, was imposed on persons who should give or accept a challenge; twenty shillings fine or ten days of hard labor, on any one who should introduce or frequent "such rude and riotous sports and practices as prizes, stage-plays, masks, revels, bull-baits, cock-fighting, and such like;" and the same penalties upon any one convicted of "playing at cards, dice, lotteries, or such like enticing, vain, and evil sports or games." Any one who should be "clamorous, scolding, or railing with their tongues" should have "three days at hard labor."

Others of the laws provided for the distribution of the property of deceased persons, for the manner of marriages, etc. The civil marriage was made sufficient; there must be consent of parents or guardians, and a publication of intention, and then the marriage must "be solemnized by taking and owning one another as husband and wife before sufficient witnesses," and finally a certificate of it, "under the hands of parties and witnesses," duly registered in the county office. A widower or widow was forbidden to "contract marriage, much less marry," within a year. No "ordinary"—i. e. tavern—could be kept without a license, to be obtained of the governor, and the landlord's charges were

fixed. "All strong beer, and ale made of barley malt" was to be sold at not more than two pence a Winchester quart, and "beer made of molasses" at not over one penny. The price of a meal at the inn was to be not more than six pence, and it must "consist of beef or pork, or such like product of the country and small beer." "And of a footman he shall not demand above two pence a night for his bed, and of a horseman nothing, he paying six pence a night for his horse's hay."

The judicial system was simple. It was enacted:

"—to the end that justice may be faithfully and openly done, according to law, that all courts of justice shall be open, and justice shall not be sold, denied, nor delayed; and in every county there shall be one court erected, to which the inhabitants thereof may every month repair for justice, and in case any person shall hold himself aggrieved by the sentence of the said county court, that such persons may appeal to the provincial court, which shall sit quarterly, and consist of not less than five judges, the appellant giving security for the charges of the suit; and no further appeal to be admitted till the appellant deposit in court the sum he is condemned to pay, and give security, in case he be cast by the last jurisdiction, which shall be the provincial council."

And further:

"—that in all courts, all persons, of all persuasions, may freely appear in their own way, and according to their own manner, and there personally plead their own cause themselves, or if unable, by their friends; and the first process shall be the exhibition of the complaint in court, fourteen days before the trial, and that the defendant be prepared for his defence, he or she shall be summoned, no less than ten days before, and a copy of the complaint delivered him or her, at his or her dwelling-house, to answer unto; but before the complaint of any person shall be received, he or she shall solemnly declare in open court, that he or she believes, in his or her conscience, his or her cause is just; and if the party complained against shall, notwithstanding, refuse to appear, the plaintiff shall have judgment against the defendant by default."

Upon the adjournment of the Assembly, Penn went immediately to Maryland, where a meeting with Lord Baltimore had been arranged. He reached Colonel Thomas Taylor's house on West river, on the 11th of December, and on the 12th a conference began, as Penn says, "about our business, the bounds, both at the same table, with our respective members of council." The meeting appears to have been courteous on both sides, and it contin-

ued several days, but no result was reached. Penn presented the letter he had brought from the King, directing that the Maryland bounds should be two degrees from south to north, beginning at Watkins Point, and counting sixty miles to a degree, but Lord Baltimore flatly refused to consider such an adjustment. He said the King was greatly mistaken about the matter; "he would not leave his patent to follow the King's letter, nor could a letter void his patent; and by that he would stand. This was the substance of what he said from first to last." Penn pressed him earnestly on the ground of Pennsylvania's need for a good water front. "I told him," he says, "it was not the love or need of the land, but the water—that he abounded in what I wanted, and access and harboring, even to excess." Pennsylvania's case, Penn argued, would justify much greater importunity, for "the thing insisted on was more than ninety-nine times more valuable to me than to him." But the argument and persuasion were in vain; "after three days" the conference broke up, and Penn, after visiting and preaching at the Friends' meetings on the Eastern shore of Maryland, returned to Chester toward the end of December. He wrote from that place on the 29th that he was busy, "casting the country into townships," etc.

Other ships besides the *Welcome* had been reaching the Delaware, and unloading their companies of colonists. The *Lion,* which arrived with the first Welsh company in August, and the *Geoffrey,* on which Nicholas Moore and others came, a few days after the *Welcome,* have been mentioned. Penn's letter above referred to (Dec. 29) says twenty-three vessels had come and "none miscarried," but this may refer to the whole year, 1682, or even to the entire period since he obtained his charter. Richard Townsend, one of the *Welcome* passengers, in his account written twenty years later, says "it was thought near three thousand persons came in, the first year," but this seems an overstatement. The winter appears to have been cold; Penn's letter of the following summer to the Free Society of Traders says: "We had sharp,

frosty weather—not foul, thick, black weather, as our northeast winds bring with them in England, but a sky clear as in summer, and the air dry, cold, piercing and hungry." "Yet," he adds, "I remember not that I wore more cloaths than in England." There was, apparently, no scarcity of food. The fisheries in the Delaware provided liberally. Richard Townsend, then at Ches-

Old Hammer and Trowel Inn

Erected 1739 at Toughkenamon; prominent in Bayard Taylor's "Story of Kennett." Photo by D. E. Brinton

ter, says he made a net, "and caught great quantities of fish, which supplied ourselves and many others." The chase in the woods did well also; "we could buy a deer for about two shillings, and a large turkey for about one shilling." Indian corn was to be had "for about two shillings and sixpence a bushel"—though this was a high price, relatively, for that day.

The first Assembly had been held because the establishment of a government "could not wait." Writs were now issued for the convening of the second Assembly, to consider further legislation. It was to be held at Philadelphia on the 10th of March,

and preliminary thereto the freeholders were to meet in each of the six counties February 20, and choose "out of themselves," twelve delegates to represent them, while they were to be notified also by the sheriffs that they might all personally appear, according to the charter of liberties, if they saw fit.

The Assembly so convened in Philadelphia, March 10, 1682-3, only the delegates appearing. At the meetings held in the several counties, it had been resolved that this would be sufficient. The Governor and his Council first met, and their proceedings form the first of their minutes, printed in the series of "Colonial Records," published by the State of Pennsylvania. The councillors present at this meeting were only sixteen in number, as follows: Captain William Markham, Edmund Cantwell and John Moll, of New Castle; Francis Whitwell, John Hilliard, and John Richardson, of Kent; William Clark, of Sussex; Thomas Holme, Lasse Cock, and William Haige, of Philadelphia; Christopher Taylor, William Biles and James Harrison, of Bucks; John Symcock, William Clayton, and Ralph Withers, of Chester. The full number of councillors was eighteen—three members from each of the six counties. John Roades and Edward Southrin, colleagues of William Clark, of Sussex, were the two absentees.

Most of these are already familiar to us. Several were old settlers on the Delaware before Penn had his charter—among them Lasse Cock, Edmund Cantwell, William Clayton, John Moll, and William Biles. Christopher Taylor had recently arrived (1682) from England. He took up land in Bucks, but removed to Tinicum Island, in Chester county, about 1684, and was sometime register-general of the province.[1] William Clark was from Sussex, Delaware, a prominent and prosperous man. James

[1]Christopher Taylor was a scholar. Before coming over he had taught a classical school at Edmonton, near London, his successor there being the famous George Keith. He was proficient in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and had published in England, 1679, a "Compendium Trium Linguarum." He left Tinicum Island to his son, Dr. Israel Taylor, who owned and occupied it to his death in 1726.

Harrison had also recently arrived, and taken up land in Bucks; he was William Penn's first steward at Pennsbury.[1]

The Council's minutes may interest us briefly. "The Governor ordered that one speak at a time, standing up, with his face to the chair." It was decided that the ballot should not be used "in all cases," but that it should be "in all personal matters," and that "all bills should be past into the laws by vote." The "charter of liberties"—the "Frame"—was read. It being shown that of the twelve persons elected in each county, three had been designated for members of the Council, and nine to serve in the Assembly, this arrangement was confirmed. It was suggested that this alteration in the "Frame" should not be construed as prejudicing its other clauses, whereupon the Governor assured them "they might amend, alter and add for the Publick good, and that he was ready to settle such Foundations as might be for their happiness and the good of their Posterities, according to the powers vested in him" by his Charter.

The Council met again on the 12th. Meantime it appeared that Dr. Nicholas Moore, who had been the Speaker of the first Assembly, and who occupied what was presumed to be the important position of president of the great corporation, the Free Society of Traders, had been expressing himself in public as violently displeased by the action of the county meetings in reducing the Assembly and the confirmation of this by the Council. The minutes state that he was charged with saying "in company in a public house," to this effect: "They have this day broken the Charter; all that you do will come to nothing; hundreds in England will curse you for what you have done, and their children after

[1]James Harrison was of Kendal, in Yorkshire. A letter of Penn's to him, explaining the Pennsylvania plan, has been cited *ante*. He came in 1682, with his family, including his son-in-law, Phineas Pemberton, the ancestor of a large and notable family of Pennsylvania. They sailed from Liverpool July 7, in the ship *Submission*, but the Master, Settle, took them into the Chesapeake, instead of the Delaware, so that they landed at Choptank, on the Eastern Shore, Oct. 30. Leaving their families and their goods at William Dickinson's, at Choptank, Harrison and Pemberton rode north to Philadelphia, and sent for their families the following spring.

them; you may hereafter be impeached for treason for what you do." Dr. Moore's vehemence in the tavern was the outcome, no doubt, of a temper naturally rather splenetic and overbearing; but it may have been due also to the fact that notwithstanding his prominence in the first Assembly, at Chester, he had now not been elected either to the Council or the Assembly. As we shall see later, he was capable of sustained controversy, and of seeming to enjoy it. The Council summoned him to appear before it, which he did, and on being asked to explain his public oratory said that if he had delivered himself as charged he was certainly to blame, but he had intended to speak "rather by Query than assertion." The Council therefore excused him, but as his discourse had "been unreasonable and imprudent" he was cautioned "to prevent the like for the future."

The fifty-four members of the Assembly, nine from each county, included many who have already become known in this narrative. Philadelphia sent two of the Swedes, Swan Swanson and Andreas Bengston; Chester sent Robert Wade, New Castle Peter Alrich, and three others of the Dutch settlers—Gasparus Herman, John De Haes, and Heinrich Williams. Not less than five of the *Welcome's* passengers appeared, and one of them, Dr. Thomas Wynne, was chosen Speaker; the others were John Songhurst, of Philadelphia; Nicholas Waln and Thomas Fitzwater, of Bucks, and Dennis Rochford, of Chester.

This second Assembly of Pennsylvania continued its sessions until April 3, and applied itself closely to business. The changes in the number of the Council and Assembly already made were confirmed by an "Act of Settlement," passed March 19, but later it was decided to frame a new "Charter" of fundamental laws, in which this and other subjects should be dealt with, displacing thus the old "Frame of Government" which Penn had promulgated in England. The desire for a new Charter seems to have been felt by the Assembly. On the 20th of March, its members met the Governor and Council. They were asked by the Governor

"whether they would have the old charter or a new one," and "they unanimously decided there might be a new one." It was accordingly framed by a joint committee, and it was agreed to engross it anew and entire on parchment. On the afternoon of March 31, "the Speaker came down, with the whole House, to

Boehm's Reformed Church

Blue Bell, Montgomery County; used as a hospital after the battle of Germantown. Negative by D. E. Brinton

hear it read," and finally, April 2, the House again "waited upon the Governor and Council at the council-house," when the Charter was once more read, was signed and sealed by Governor Penn, and delivered to Thomas Wynne, the Speaker, who made an acknowledgment of the Governor's kindness in the business. The document was then attested by the signatures of the members of the Council and Assembly, twelve of the former and fifty-three of the latter being present and signing.

Under this charter the Assembly remained as before in two important particulars: (1) It could not "sit upon its own adjournments," but was summoned and "prorogued" by the Governor; (2) it originated no legislation, but could only pass upon the bills which the Council presented to it. The number of members of the Assembly was fixed at six from each county, and it was arranged that members of the Council serve three years, one member being chosen annually in each county. Bills prepared by the Governor and Council for the Assembly's action were required to be published, by placing them "in the most noted place in every county," twenty days before the Assembly met. The elections for members of the Council and Assembly were fixed annually for the 10th of March, and the convening of the Assembly for the 10th of May.

The legislation passed by the Assembly covered a wide range of subjects. It was enacted that the laws passed at Chester in December should continue in force to the end of the first session of the next General Assembly, except such as might be meantime amended or repealed. A law abolishing primogeniture was passed; it was provided "that whatsoever estate any person hath in this province and territories thereof, at the time of his death, unless it appear that an equal division be made elsewhere, shall be thus disposed of, that is to say, one-third to the wife of the party deceased, one-third to the children equally, and the other third as he pleaseth; and in case his wife be deceased before him two-thirds shall go to the children equally, and the other third disposed of as he shall think fit, his debts being first paid." In the case of a person dying intestate it was provided that it go to his wife, and his child or children; if he left none, then to his brothers and sisters, if any, or to their children; "in case no such be," then one-third to parents, and the other half to next of kin; "and for want of parents one-half shall go to the Governor, and for want of kindred one-half to the public."

Some of the clauses of the "Great Law" were amended, but without impairing its general character. A customs duty was

levied on imported "rum, wine, brandy, and strong waters," on cider and on all imported goods, molasses excepted, and the revenue from this was offered the Governor, "as a testimony of regard and affection." Many details of the legislation related to trade. The inspection of "pipe-staves" was provided for, and their export put under regulation. An export duty was placed on hides, beaver skins, deer skins, etc., sent to other countries than England. Liquor exported in any cask or vessel was required to be gauged, and the quantity marked outside. To encourage the flax and hemp culture, it was provided that "such hemp shall be current pay betwixt man and man at four pence per pound, and such flax at eight pence." No provisions coming into the Province or territories, except from West Jersey, should be sold before five days, "to the end that those that live remotely may have notice thereof, and be supplied, as well as those near at hand." Weights and measures were fixed as under the English law, including the "Winchester bushel." The exposure to sale of any wheat at the market price, which was not clean of "dust, chaff, and such like trash," was punishable by a fine. Seven years' quiet possession of land gave a good title, except in the cases of infants, married women, lunatics, and "persons beyond the seas." For three years no cow-calf or ewe-lamb should be killed, except where the dam had died by casualty. For killing a wolf, any person other than an Indian should have ten shillings for a male, and fifteen for a female; if an Indian killed one he should have five shillings, "and the skin for his pains." All sorts of cattle six months old or more were required to be branded with the owner's registered mark, which had to be recorded. The assize of bread was strictly provided for. Wheat fields were required to be enclosed by a fence at least five feet high. Each county was required to erect, before the last day of December, 1683, a house "at least twenty feet square, for restraint, correction, labour, and punishment of all such persons as shall be thereunto committed by law." Persons intending to remove from the Province were required to place a

written notice on the "door of the county-court," at least thirty days before, and have a pass "under the county seal." "Unknown persons" were not to "presume to travel or go without the limits" of the county in which they lived without a pass or certificate under the seal of that county. And any person coming from another province into this, without a pass, was liable to apprehension and imprisonment. "Servants" could not be assigned by their owners, except with the cognizance of two justices; such a servant, bound to serve time in Pennsylvania, could not be sold into another province; nor could any servant be attached or taken into execution for the debt of master or mistress.

The education of the people received thought. The charter provided that:

> "The Governor and Provincial Council shall erect and order all publick schools, and encourage and reward the authors of useful sciences and laudable inventions, in the said Province and Territories thereof."

And one of the laws reads:

> "And to the end that the poor as well as rich may be instructed in good and commendable learning, which is to be preferred before wealth, all persons in this Province and territories thereof, having children, and all guardians or trustees of orphans, shall cause such to be instructed in reading and writing, so that they may be able to read the Scriptures, and to write, by the time they attain to twelve years of age; and that they may be taught some useful trade or skill, that the poor may work to live, and the rich, if they become poor, may not want: of which every County Court shall take care."

To facilitate travel and communication it was ordained that "sufficient cartways" should be opened to "the most convenient landing-places," and that there should be "ferry-boats for men and horses built within one year . . . over the creeks commonly called Neshaminee, Sculkill, and Cristeen at the charges of the counties they belong to."

With the adjournment of this second Assembly, the Province of Pennsylvania may be considered as having fully begun its career. Its constitutional basis had been deliberately formed by the King's grant of power to Penn, and by the charter which Penn, upon free conference with the Council and the Assembly, had de-

fined and declared. The whole system was thus very democratic. It is true that an ultimate authority, with power to approve or reject, lay in the Crown, but while this might be exercised, and in some cases—as was later unpleasantly realized—be employed to

Paxton Church, Paxtang, built 1740

Photo by Mrs. Innes Henry

check or thwart the popular purpose, the general operation of the laws was such as the people themselves desired to enjoy. Pennsylvania, from this time, experienced very little of those pains and penalties of arbitrary government which others of the American colonies had to endure. The Assembly especially, from these days of early spring in the year 1683, felt itself the repository of the people's rights and interests, and whatever of criticism or de-

traction may have been applied to it later, in the ninety years of its life, no one can deny that it sustained throughout the cause of the Commonwealth against all comers. We shall see this abundantly exemplified as we proceed, and shall find the men who successively led the Assembly forming a fine example of single-minded and courageous citizenship.

On the 3rd of April, then, the members left Philadelphia for their homes. Nearly all were farmers, and the labors of the opening season called them to their places. For the men of Sussex and Kent it was quite time to be afield, and even those from Bucks and Chester could make some preparation for the early planting. The weather that year was fine. From March to June, Penn wrote a little later, "we enjoyed a sweet spring—no gusts, but gentle showers and a fine sky." The Governor himself once more essayed to reach conclusions with the Maryland proprietary. This time it was Lord Baltimore's duty to return the visit paid him in December. A messenger had been sent inviting him to name a time and place for meeting, and in May three Maryland gentlemen came riding northward to say that his Lordship expected to arrive presently at the head of Chesapeake Bay. As had happened the year before with Markham, Penn was just then engaged in treaties with the Indians, but he set off as soon as possible, and met Lord Baltimore "ten miles from New Castle." He invited Baltimore to return with him to New Castle, and there "entertained him as well as the town could afford, on so little notice." But the meeting again availed nothing. Lord Baltimore appeared desirous of conferring privately. Penn then proposed that they sit at their several lodgings, each with his council, and interchange "written memorials," so that there might be no mistaking each other's views; but the Maryland proprietary said, "he was not well, and the weather was sultry, so he would return with what speed he could," and leave the treaty to a more convenient time and more pleasant weather. "Thus we parted at that time," says Penn's narrative.

Lord Baltimore had evidently determined to press his claims, and not to negotiate. By an order dated May 15, at St. Mary's, the Maryland capital, he had directed the sheriffs of the several counties to compel all settlers to pay for their land and he fixed the rate within Penn's "Lower Counties" at one-half the amount required in the undisputed Maryland counties. In the latter, for fifty acres the settler should pay one hundred pounds of tobacco down, and two shillings yearly rent, but "on the sea-board side or the Whorekills," he might pay but fifty pounds of tobacco and a shilling rent. Plainly this was to encourage Maryland planters on Penn's Delaware lands.

This order to the sheriffs Penn had heard of before the New Castle meeting, and shortly after that event letters reached him from two judges of the county courts that "such a proclamation was abroad," and the people disturbed by it. Thereupon he sent three members of his Council to Lord Baltimore for an explanation. On their way they secured a copy of the order—probably from Smithson, sheriff of Dorchester county—which they were able thus to show in their interview with his Lordship. He told them, however, that it had no special significance; "it was his ancient form, and he only did it to renew his claim, not that he would encourage any to plant there." Then, said Penn's messengers, if it is merely formal, why not call it in? But this he declined to do.

In the letter to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, August 14 (1683), in which Penn described these events, he says in one place: "I was then (May) in treaty with the kings of the natives for land," and in another place, near the close: "I have followed the Bishop of London's counsel by buying and not taking away the natives' land, with whom I have settled a very kind correspondence." These allusions bring us to the subject of Penn's Treaty with the Indians—the "Great Treaty" of our history.

The time of this treaty was long assigned to the first few days after Penn's arrival at Philadelphia. It was commonly supposed,

and has been frequently stated in historical narrative, that the treaty made familiar by Benjamin West's painting, and, hardly less, by Voltaire's allusion to it as "the only treaty never sworn to and never broken," took place in the November days following the Governor's first landing. But this view, upon careful recent study, has been revised. An examination of all the evidence shows it to be altogether unlikely that Penn had any such formal and important meeting with the Indians, if indeed he had any meeting at all with them, before the spring and summer of 1683. His early letters contain no account of it. They make, in fact, little allusion to the Indians. He describes in them his several activities and occupations, but he says nothing of having met the Indians, either for the purchase of land or the negotiation of friendly relations. Moreover, we can account for his movements from the time of his landing until winter with such completeness as to leave few days when he could have held such a treaty.

The conclusion has been formed, and undoubtedly upon the best evidence, that the Great Treaty of our tradition is that which is referred to in the deed made by Tamanen—Tammany—to Penn, on the 23d of June, 1683, and which will be found of record in the first volume of the "Pennsylvania Archives." In Penn's long and detailed letter of the 16th of August to the Free Society of Traders, he describes the Indians minutely, and then says:

"I have had occasion to be in council with them upon treaties for land, and to adjust the terms of trade. Their order is thus: The King sits in the middle of an half moon, and hath his council, the old and wise, on each hand; behind them or at a little distance, sit the younger fry in the same figure. . . . When the purchase was agreed, great promises passed between us of kindness and good neighborhood, and that the Indians and English must live in love as long as the sun and moon give light; which done, another made a speech to the Indians in the name of all the Sachamakers or Kings, first to tell them what was done; next to

Sisters' House and Saal, Ephrata

Erected about 1740. Photo by Louise D. Woodbridge

charge and command them to love the Christians, and particularly live in peace with me, and the people under my Government; that many Governors had been in the River, but that no Governor had come himself to live and stay here before; and having now such an one that treated them well, they should never do him or his any wrong. At every sentence of which they shouted and said Amen in their way."

There is no doubt that the meeting which Penn thus refers to is that of June 23. Nor can it be questioned that he here fairly describes such an occasion as that Great Treaty which is fixed in our tradition. The treaty of June 23 was for the purchase of land, and was a formal and important occasion. Some passages in Penn's description of it, not quoted above, clearly show that

previous negotiations had led up to this as a consummation and conclusion. He says of it that: "Having consulted and resolved their business the King ordered one of them to speak to me; he stood up, came to me, and in the name of the King, saluted me; then took me by the hand and told me he was ordered by his king to speak to me; and that now it was not he, but the King that spoke. . . . He first prayed me to excuse them that they had not complied with me the last time; he feared there might be some fault with the interpreter being neither Indian nor English; besides it was the Indian custom to deliberate, and take up much time in council before they resolve, and that if the young people and owners of the land had been as ready as he I had not met with so much delay. Having thus introduced his matter, he fell to the bounds of the land they had agreed to dispose of and the price.'

In the years following 1683, far down into the next century, the Indians preserved the tradition of an agreement of peace made with Penn, and it was many times recalled in the meetings held with him and his successors. Some of these allusions are very definite. In 1715, for example, an important delegation of the Lenâpé chiefs came to Philadelphia to visit the Governor. Sassoonan—afterward called Allummapees, and for many years the principal chief of his people—was at the head, and Opessah, a Shawnee chief, accompanied him. There was "great ceremony," says the Council record, over the "opening of the calumet." Rattles were shaken, and songs were chanted. Then Sassoonan spoke, offering the calumet to Governor Gookin, who in his speech spoke of "that firm Peace that was settled between William Penn, the founder and chief governor of this country, at his first coming into it," to which Sassoonan replied that they had come "to renew the former bond of friendship; that William Penn had at his first coming made a clear and open road all the way to the Indians, and they desired the same might be kept open and that all obstructions might be removed," etc. In 1720, Governor Keith, writing to the Iroquois chiefs of New York, said: "When Governor Penn

first settled this country he made it his first care to cultivate a strict alliance and friendship with all the Indians, and condescended so far as to purchase his lands from them." And in March, 1721-2, the Colonial authorities, sending a message to the Senecas, said: "William Penn made a firm peace and league with the Indians in these parts near forty years ago, which league has often been repeated and never broken."

It may be concluded from this evidence that Penn had no formal or important meeting with the Indians of the Delaware region—or any others—prior to June, 1683; that on the 23rd of that month he did have such a meeting with them, Tamanen, or Tammany, being one of the chiefs present; that in that meeting purchases of land were made, and declarations of friendship interchanged; and that this occasion is the one which remained long in memory, and has become fixed in history. Even if we did not grant it the distinction of being *the* Great Treaty it was evidently *a* treaty of high significance and importance, and so entitled to be called great. The traditional place, beneath the spreading elm at Shackamaxon, on the Delaware's bank, was an appropriate spot, and the tree itself[1] for a century and a quarter remained an object

[1]The "Treaty Tree" stood many years afterward, and finally blew down, Watson says (Vol. I., p. 237), on the 3rd of March, 1810. "The root was wrenched and the trunk broken off; it fell on Saturday night, and on Sunday many hundreds of people visited it. In its form it was remarkably wide-spread, but not lofty; its main branch, inclining toward the river, measured 150 feet, and its age, as it was counted by the inspection of its circles of annual growth, was 283 years. The tree, such as it was in 1800, was very accurately drawn by Thomas Birch, and the large engraving executed from it by Seymour gives the true appearance of every visible limb, etc. While it stood the Methodists and Baptists often held their summer meetings under its shade."

A slip from the old tree was planted in the grounds of the Pennsylvania Hospital. The hospital minutes, May 26, 1810, say: "A scion from the root of a tree called the Great Elm of Kensington, said to have been the same tree under which William Penn, the Proprietor of Pennsylvania, held the first treaty with the Indians, was presented by Matthew Vanduzen, and planted by Peter Brown, Esq. . . . The parent tree was blown down in a late storm." This tree at the hospital stood in the way of Clinton street, when it was opened, and was cut down in 1841, but Charles Roberts, one of the managers, planted cuttings from it on the hospital grounds, and one of these, now standing, is a large tree. There are others, from the same original source, in Philadelphia, and one or more elsewhere in Pennsylvania.

of historic interest and affectionate regard. Benjamin West remembered it to have been pointed out to him, as early as 1755, as the place of the Great Treaty, and he related that General Simcoe, one of the British officers in Philadelphia, in the winter of 1777-78, told him that he had ordered his men not to cut it for fuel, and had placed a guard around it for its protection. West's painting, often criticised as to some of its details, especially as representing Penn older than he really was—a corpulent elderly gentleman, instead of a graceful man under forty—is in the main a consistent and reasonable picture. One point in it deserves especial notice: the trees are shown in full foliage, suggesting not a late autumn or winter day, but one in the leafy month of June, such as that when the treaty with Tammany was held.

The purchase of lands made by Penn, at this meeting on June 23, was in four parcels, and four deeds were made. Tamanen, who made his "mark" to the deed, a snake coiled, conveyed all his lands "lying betwixt Pemmapecka (Pennypack) and Nessamincho (Neshaminy) creeks," and also all lying along the Neshaminy. He received "so much wampum, so many guns, shoes, stockings, looking-glasses, blankets and other goods as he the said William Penn shall please to give unto we." A receipt attached acknowledges the payment of these goods, "besides several guilders in silver." In a second deed, four chiefs, Essepenaike, Swanpees, and two others, conveyed "all our lands lying between Pemmapecka and Neshaminck creeks, and all along upon Neshaminck creek, and backward of same, and to run two days' journey with an horse up into ye country, as said river doth go." The consideration, as in Tammany's case, was left to Penn's discretion and generosity.

In a third deed Essepenaike and Swanpees conveyed their interests in precisely the same lands as they had sold jointly with the other chiefs in deed number two.

Finally, in a fourth deed, Tamanen and Metamequan conveyed their lands "lying betwixt and about" Pennypack and Neshaminy, and "along" Neshaminy.

Interior of Saal, Ephrata Cloister

Showing altar table, hour glass, and inscriptions on wall. Photo by J. F. Sachse

All these deeds were witnessed by several white men; the names appended include Lasse Cock, who doubtless acted as interpreter; John Blunston, Joseph Curteis, Philip Th. Lehnmann (Penn's secretary), Peter Cock, Nicholas More, Thomas Holme, and one or two more, with the names of a number of Indians.

Two days later, June 25, another deed was made. The grantee, this time, was Wingebone. He "freely" granted and disposed of all his lands "lying on ye west side of ye Skolkill river, beginning from ye first falls of ye same all along upon ye said river and backward of the ye same, so far as my right goeth." He was to receive "so much wampum and other things" as Penn should be willing to give him.

July 14, Secane and Icquoquehan, who claimed to be—according to the white men's scrivenership—"Indian Shackamakers and right owners of ye lands lying between Manaiunk, alias Schulkill, and Macopanackhan, alias Chester river," conveyed to Penn all their right and title in the lands lying between these rivers, "beginning on ye west side of Manaiunk, called Consohockhan, and from thence by a westerly line" to Chester river. In this case the consideration was specifically fixed, and may be worth giving in full. The two sachems were to have 150 fathoms of wampum, 14 blankets, 68 yards of "duffels," 28 yards of "stroud-waters," 15 guns, 3 great kettles, 15 small kettles, 16 pairs stockings, 7 pairs shoes, 6 caps, 12 gimlets, 6 drawing-knives, 15 pairs scissors, 15 combs, 5 papers of needles, 10 tobacco-boxes, 32 pounds of powder, 3 papers of beads, 2 papers of red lead, 15 coats, 15 shirts, 15 axes, 15 knives, 30 bars of lead, 18 glasses and 15 hoes, all of which they acknowledged receiving.

It is notable that in this list no brandy or other "strong liquors" appeared. In Markham's purchase, in Bucks county, the previous year, he gave the contracting chiefs six ankers of "rumme," cider and beer. Penn was more scrupulous than his lieutenant, and doubtless realized more strongly the injury done the Indians by drink.

Another deed the same day, July 14, was made by Neneskickan, Malebore, and two others, for lands "betwixt Manaiunk and Pemmapecka, as far as ye hill called Conshohockin, on ye said river Manaiunk, and from thence by a northwest line to ye river of Pemmapecka."

September 10, "Kekelappan, of Opasiskunk" sold "that half" of his lands "betwixt Susquehanna and Delaware, with lieth on ye Susquehanna side," and October 18, Machaloha, who claimed sachemship on "Delaware river, Chesapeake bay, and up to ye Falls of Susquehanna river," conveyed his rights in his land.

To define exactly the extent of these purchases would evidently be impossible. That the neighboring Indians had now been

nearly all treated with appears a fair conclusion. If we assume, as has been suggested earlier in this chapter, that the site of Philadelphia had been bought by Markham in a treaty earlier than that (July 15, 1682), whose deed is the first one preserved in our records, we may consider that Penn had very fairly extinguished the Indian claim to southeastern Pennsylvania for twenty to thirty miles around the spot where Independence Hall now stands. That the Indians fully comprehended the effect of their bargain is hardly probable. That they were more kindly dealt with than had been usual when the white man came to take the red man's land is beyond reasonable dispute.

The importance of acquiring consent of the Indians to his possession of the interior country, as well as that around Philadelphia, appeared plain to Penn's mind, and in the summer (1683) he sent agents to confer with the Iroquois chiefs of New York. Their overlordship of the tribes on the Susquehanna was evidently known to him, and their conquest of the Susquehannocks' "fort" was an event so recent as to be common knowledge among the colonists. A letter remains, written by Penn in July, 1683, to Acting Governor Brockholls of New York, commending to his favor two agents whom Penn is sending to treat with the sachems of the Mohawks and Senecas and their allied tribes for a release of the Susquehanna lands. Their business, Penn wrote to Brockholls, "is to treat . . . . about some Susquehanash land on ye back of us, where I intend a colony forthwith, a place so out of the way that a small thing could not carry some people to it."

The two agents thus sent were William Haige, the Pennsylvania surveyor, already frequently mentioned, and James Graham, a resident of New York, an alderman of that city, afterward attorney-general. They appear to have gone to Albany in August, and their proceedings there caused great alarm, as we shall see.

A new governor at this juncture reached New York, displacing Brockholls. He was Colonel Thomas Dongan. He arrived on the 25th of August, having come over from Boston,

where—at Nantasket—his ship had made port. Dongan is of interest to our study of Pennsylvania history, for in his service as Governor of the adjoining province from August, 1683, to August 1688, he touched at many points the life of this colony. He was the younger son of an Irish baronet, Sir John Dongan, and a nephew of the celebrated Richard Talbot, who became Earl and Duke of Tyrconnel. Born in 1634, he became a colonel in the royal army after the Restoration of Charles II., served in France, and was lieutenant-governor at Tangier in Africa. He was a Roman Catholic, like his patron the Duke of York, and an enterprising, active and intelligent man. His acquaintance with the French and their language helped to qualify him to manage the delicate relations of New York with Canada and the Iroquois Indians.

Charged by his instructions to be careful of the interests of the Duke of York, the new Governor heard of the negotiations of Penn's agents with concern, and directed the Albany justices to report to him on the matter. They were themselves stricken with panic. They feared that Penn would plant a strong settlement on the Susquehanna—a thing which in fact was not yet possible, nor to be so for half a century—and that the Iroquois Indians, instead of bringing their furs to the Hudson, would send them southward. An "extraordinary meeting" of the justices was called September 7. Five assembled. They had before them such of the chiefs as could be hastily brought in—two of the Cayugas, and "a Susquehanna." The Indians were questioned closely as to the "situation of Susquehanna river," and its geographical and trade relations with the New York settlements, especially that at Albany. The information elicited and minuted is still of interest. The Indians said it was "one day's journey from the Mohawk castles to the lake where the Susquehanna river rises, and then ten days' journey to the Susquehanna castles." It was one and a half days' journey by land from Oneida "to the kill which falls into Susquehanna river," and one day thence to the

river itself. It was half a day by land, and one day by water from Onondaga to the river. From Cayuga it was one and a half days' by land and water to the river. From the "four castles" of the Senecas it was three days' journey by land and two by water to the river, and then five days by water to the Susquehanna

Old Trappe Church

Erected 1743 near Schwenksville; occupied in the fall of 1777 by a portion of the army under General Armstrong. Photo by D. E. Brinton

castles, making ten in all, and this trip was "very easy, they conveying their packs in canoes."

These close questions being asked, the chiefs inquired not unnaturally the reason for such inquisition. Why did the justices want to know? Were the white men coming to Susquehanna? They were asked in turn how that would suit them, and candidly said very well. It would be much easier and nearer for trade than Albany offered, "insomuch as they must bring everything thither on their backs." This was a most alarming statement! The fur trade of the Iroquois was the source of Albany's impor-

tance. The justices closed the meeting and wrote hastily to the Governor, urging him to find "an expedient for preventing" the acquisition by Penn of a Susquehanna Indian title. A little later, September 18, Dongan advised them that he had conferred with his Council and that it was thought "very convenient and necessary to putt a stopp to all proceedings in Mr. Penn's affairs with the Indians until his bounds and limits be adjusted." They were therefore instructed "to suffer no manner of proceedings in that business," until they should be further advised.

The business was thus halted for the time. The Indian chiefs were persuaded to say to Haige that they had no right to sell the lands, having promised them to "Corlaer"—their generic name for the New York governors—on some previous occasion, and to refuse therefore to go on with the negotiations. Then Dongan, to fix the business securely in his own hands, procured from some of the chiefs a grant of the lands to himself. Precisely what value he attached to this, and exactly how he considered his actions would look to the Duke of York and to Penn, may be a question, but he wrote to the latter (October 10) avowing his purchase, and again (October 22) saying it had further been confirmed by the Indians and that he and Penn would not "fall out" over it.

And here the account may as well be completed, though we shall go somewhat further in the order of time than our present narrative demands. In 1696, Dongan, who described himself as then "of London," executed a "lease and release" to William Penn of "all that tract of land lying upon, on both sides, the river commonly called or known by the name of the Susquehanna river, and the lands adjacent, beginning at the mountains or head of the said river, and running as far as and unto the Bay of Chesapeak," it being the same "which the said Thomas Dongan lately purchased of or had given him by the Sinneca Susquehanah Indians." This conveyance cost Penn, on the face of the release, a hundred pounds, but the expense may have been greater. It gave him, at any rate, whatever Indian title to the Susquehanna Dongan had

procured in 1683. In a treaty made in 1700, at Pennsbury, with two chiefs of the Susquehanna region—whose names, Widaagh and Andaggy-Junkquah, signify nothing to us—they granted to Penn all the rights they possessed on the river, and "ratified and confirmed" the deed of Dongan.

These proceedings between 1683 and 1700, in reference to the Susquehanna, caused other perturbations at New York than those we have recited. A petition forwarded from that city in 1691 by the Provincial Council to King William III. earnestly represented the importance of dispossessing Penn altogether. The petition was signed by Richard Ingoldsby, Frederick Phillips, Stephen Courtland, Nicholas Bayard, and others. The Susquehanna, they said, "is situate in the middle of the Sinnekes country," and was given to the crown "many years before Mr. Penn had his patent." He, however, was now endeavoring to buy it of the Indians, in order to draw away the trade to his province, and the Council assured the King that this would do him great damage. "All the nations with whom Albany hath a trade live at the head of Susquehanna river," they said, and declared that "the inhabitants at Albany" had "only seated themselves there, and addicted their minds to the Indian language and the mysteries of the said trade, with purpose to manage it." They strongly urged that if Penn should have his title to Pennsylvania confirmed, it should extend no further on the Susquehanna "than the falls thereof," but they much preferred that Connecticut, East and West Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the "Three Lower Counties" on the Delaware should be re-annexed to New York, which they were of opinion "would then be a government of sufficient extent"—for what or whom they did not explain.

Even this representation, however, did not avail—at least not permanently. Its date, August 6, 1691, coincides with the time when efforts began to be vigorously made to dispossess Penn, these finally resulting in the Fletcher episode, 1693 to 1695, when for the first time and last time a "royal" governor had authority

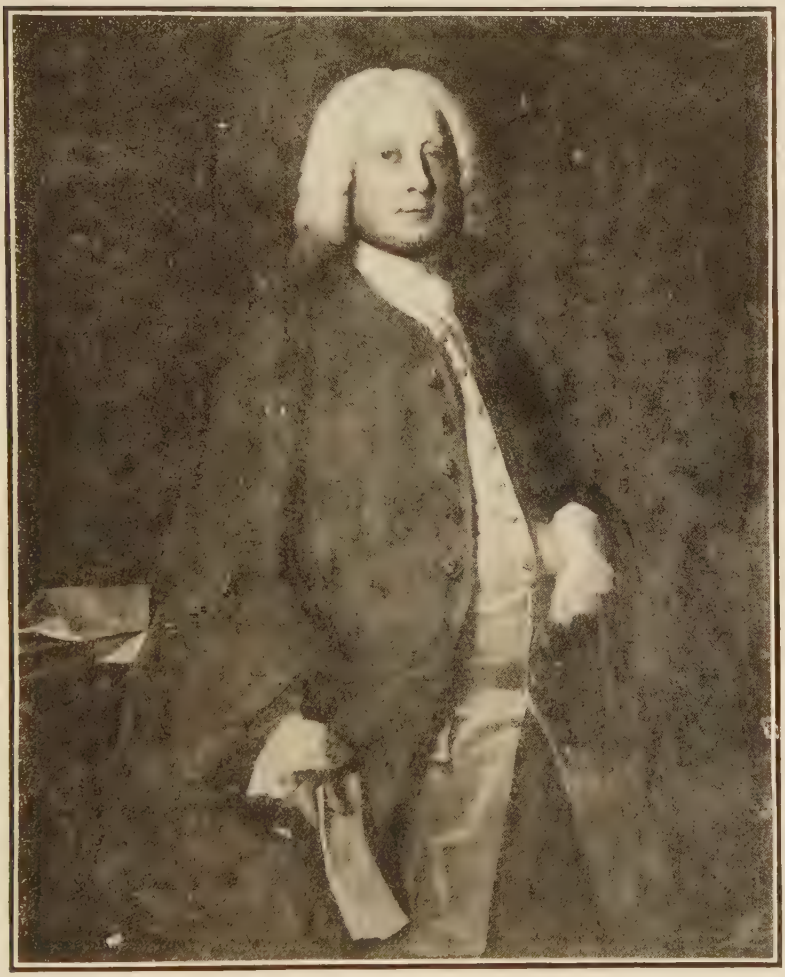
in Pennsylvania. The envy and hostility, growing into malevolence, of the official influences in other colonies, at many times, toward this province and its rulers, were as discreditable as they were unjustifiable. Penn himself was a shining mark for those who disliked his religious views, dreaded his democratic system, or despised his humane policy, or hated all of these.

We return, now, to the summer of 1683, and to such events as have not been related. The letters of Penn to his correspondents in England give details of the progress of the colony. He wrote in July to Colonel Henry Sydney, afterwards Earl of Romney, and brother of Algernon Sydney. He had been here, he said, about five months, and had had his health; he found the country wholesome, and the land, air, and water all good. "We have laid out a town a mile long and two miles deep. On each side of the town runs a navigable river, the least as broad as the Thames at Woolwich, the other about a mile over. I think we have near about eighty houses built, and about three hundred farms settled round the town. I fancy it already better than the Weald of Kent, our soil being clearer, and the country not much closer; a coach might be driven twenty miles end-ways. We have had fifty sail of ships and small vessels since the last summer, in our river, which shows a good beginning." Writing to the Lord Chief Justice, North, the same date, he says, "a fair we have had, and weekly market to which the ancient lowly inhabitants"—the Swedes and Dutch, doubtless—"come to sell their produce, to their profit, and our accommodation." Later, July 28, he writes the Earl of Sunderland, describing the Indians, alluding especially to the injury done them by drink. Though, he says, "many of the old men and some of ye young people will not touch it," yet "because in those fits they mischief both themselves and others, I have forbid to sell them any."

The minutes of the Provincial Council record the developing life of the colony. Meetings of the Council were held frequently. During the sittings of the Assembly it met daily, and after the ad-

journment of the spring Assembly (April 3), nearly forty meetings were held during the year 1683. At all of these Governor Penn was present and presiding. Of the eighteen members of the Council as many as twelve attended a few times, but usually not more than half that number. The business dealt with was, as already has been said, both executive and judicial, and, in conjunction with the Assembly, legislative also. There were appeals from the county courts. In one instance the justices of Philadelphia county had presumed to pass upon a case belonging in Bucks, and the Council imposed a fine upon them of forty pounds. The passengers on a vessel arrived in the river preferred charges against the master for abuse, and taking their private supply of water and beer. "The Governor gave the master a reprimand, and advised him to go with the passengers, and make up the business, which he did." Three men were tried for making silver coins, "Spanish bitts and Boston money." The coins looked well, and were gladly accepted as currency, but the makers admitted that they contained too much alloy of copper. The grand jury that passed upon the indictment in this case was the first in Pennsylvania, and so was the trial jury which heard the testimony. In the lists of the two are names of some of the most prominent early settlers—Thomas Lloyd, afterward lieutenant-governor; Enoch Flower, teacher of the first school in Philadelphia; Nicholas Waln, John Blunston, Thomas Fitzwater, John Claypoole, Robert Turner, Andrew Bengston, Dennis Rochford, and others. All the accused were convicted, and Pickering, the principal, was sentenced by the Governor to replace his over-alloyed coins with good money, to pay a fine of forty pounds "toward ye building of a new court-house in this Towne," and to give security for his future "good abearance." The other two were less severely dealt with; one was fined ten pounds for the court-house fund, and the other sentenced to "sitt an hour in the stocks to-morrow morning."

A ship called the *Mary of Southampton*, which had come into port with passengers from England, was seized, November 21, by



Thomas Penn

Member of the Council, 1732; and after the Fort Stanwix treaty, 1768; feudal lord of more than 25,000,000 acres and the inhabitants thereon. Photographed especially for this work by J. F. Sachse from canvas in Historical Society of Pennsylvania

the Council, it being found that she was sailing under a false name, being in reality a "Scottish bottom," the *Alexander,* of Inverness, "noe ways made free to trade with any of his Majesty's plantations in America," according to the provisions of the Act of Parliament. The ship was publicly condemned, and perhaps sold; the canny but too ventursome Scotch master had to learn that the trade of the American colonies was intended for the benefit of English merchants by the carefully devised system of the Navigation laws.

A certain Anthony Weston was sharply dealt with, also. He seems to have circulated some kind of a "paper" or "proposal," which was regarded as seditious or offensive, and the minutes record, January 16, 1683-4: "The Governor and Provincial Council have thought fit that for the great presumption and Contempt of this Government and authority, that Anto. Weston be whypt at ye market place on market daye three times, each time to have ten lashes at 12 of the clock at noone, this being ye first day." Several "freemen" who "subscribed to Anto. Weston's proposals" were to give bonds in fifty pounds each for their good behavior.

A case of difficulty came up in reference to the estate left behind him by Benjamin Acrod. A coroner's inquest had been held upon his body, and the jury found that he "killed himself with drinke." Probably the jury meant only to emphasize his intemperance, but the verdict on its face implied suicide. A special administrator of his estate was appointed, and the Governor expressly relinquished any claim he might have to the goods of one dying by his own hand.

In the records, December 26, we have the first indication of a teacher and school in Philadelphia. The minute says: "The Govr and Provll Council having taken into their Serious Consideration the great Necessity there is of a School Master for ye Instruction & Sober Education of Youth in the towne of Philadelphia, Sent for Enoch Flower, an Inhabitant of the said Towne,

who for twenty year past hath been exercised in that care and Imploymt in England, to whom haveing Comunicated their Minds, he Embraced it upon these following Termes: to Learn to read English 4s by the Quarter, to Learn to read and write 6s by ye Quarter, to learn to read, Write and Cast accot 8s by Quarter; for Boarding a Scholler, that is to say, dyet, Washing, Lodging, & Schooling, Tenn pounds for one whole year."

From time to time appointments made by the Governor were announced to the Council. May 2, "the Governor informed the Councill that he hath made choyce of Nich: Moore to be Secretary of ye Provincial Councill." The flurry over his "unreasonable and imprudent discourse" in March had subsided. December 27: "This day, Thomas Lloyd was sent for before the board, and ye Governor was pleased to put him in Master of ye Rolls, who doth solemnly promise to officiate therein with care and diligence."

To this time belongs the first and only trial for witchcraft known to Pennsylvania history. We may remember that a little later, 1692, the terrible experiences of Massachusetts, the "Salem craze," began. On the Delaware, no doubt, the witchcraft superstition existed among the pioneer settlers, but, as this trial showed, it was easily possible to prevent its running to serious lengths.

In February, 1683-4, the minutes of the Provincial Council record the case. On the 7th, Margaret Matson and Yeshoo Hendrickson, two Swedish women, "were examined and about to be proved witches;" whereupon the Council ordered that Neels Matson should give bail in fifty pounds for his wife's further appearance on the 27th of the month, and Hendrick Jacobson[1] did the same for his wife. On the 27th, the Council being again met, a grand jury was present and Governor Penn "gave them their charge." The Attorney-General handed them a presentment upon which they made the return of true bill. A trial jury was then empanelled; it included our old acquaintance, Robert Wade, of

[1]The curious twists of the Swedish naming will be noted here. The husband's and wife's family names are different.

Chester; and the trial of Margaret Matson proceeded. She plead not guilty. The record is of such interest that we may take it as it stands in the minutes, with slight abridgment:

"Henry Drystreet attested, Saith he was tould 20 years agoe, that the prisoner at the Barr was a Witch, & that Severall Cows were bewitcht by her; also, that James Saunderling's mother tould him that she bewitched her cow, but afterwards said it was a mistake, and that her Cow should doe well againe, for it was not her Cow but an Other Person's that should Dye.

"Charles Ashcom attested, saith that Anthony's Wife being asked why she sould her Cattle; was because her mother had Bewitcht them, having taken the Witchcraft of Hendrick's Cattle, and put it on their Oxen; She myght Keep but noe Other Cattle, and also that one night the Daughter of ye Prisoner called him up hastely, and when he came she sayd there was a great Light but Just before, and an Old woman with a Knife in her hand at ye Bedd's feet, and therefore shee cryed out and desired Jno. Symcock to take away his Calves, or Else she would send them to Hell.

"Annakey Coolin attested, saith her husband tooke the Heart of a Calfe that Dyed, as they thought, by Witchcraft, and Boyled it, whereupon the Prisoner at ye Barr came in and asked them what they were doing; they said boyling of fleash; she said they had better they had Boyled the Bones, with several other unseemly Expressions.

"Margaret Mattson saith that She Vallues not Drystreet's Evidence; but if Sanderlin's mother had come, she would have answered her; also denyeth Charles Ashcom's Attestation at her Soul, and Saith where is my Daughter; let her come and say so.

"Annakey Cooling's attestation concerning the Gees, she denyeth, saying she was never out of her Canoe, and also that she never said any such things concerning the Calve's heart.

"Jno. Cock attested, sayeth he Knows nothing of the matter.

"Theo. Balding's attestation was read, and Tho Bracy attested, saith it is a True copy.

"The Prisoner denyeth all things, and saith that the Witnesses speak only by hearsay.

"After wch ye Govr gave the jury their Charge concerning ye Prisoner at ye Barr.

"The jury went forth, and upon their Returne Brought her in Guilty of haveing the Comon fame of a witch, but not guilty in manner and forme as Shee stands Indicted.

"Neels Mattson and Antho. Neelson Enters into a Recognizance of fifty pounds apiece, for the good behavior of Getro Hendrickson for six months."

The tide of immigration from countries other than England, which was to swell to such a height in years to come, now made its first appearance. The persecutions of the Huguenots in France, under Louis the Fourteenth—now drawing near the close of his long and evil reign—brought a group of these energetic peo-

ple into Pennsylvania. September 10 (1683), the Council minutes record that "these persons following did solemnly promise before this honorable board faith and allegiance to the king, and fidelity and lawful obedience to William Penn, Proprietor and Governor: Capt. Gabrielle Rappe, Andrew Learrin, Andrew Inbert, Peter Meinardeau, Uslee, Lees Cosard, Nich. Riboleau, Jacob Raquier, Louis Boumat." Rappe is identified in the Huguenot chronicles as coming from the Isle of Rhé (La Rochelle) on the west coast of France, and Riboleau was probably from the same place. In a letter the following year (1684) to the Marquis of Halifax, Penn speaks of Captain Rappe as having begun to make wine from the native grapes—an industry on which the Governor bestowed much concern, but which never showed any very valuable result. His letters refer frequently to the subject. He speaks of one of the native grapes—"the great red grape, called by ignorance the fox grape," which "by art, doubtless, may be cultivated to an excellent wine." "There is a white kind of muskatel, and a little black grape"—the "chicken grape" no doubt—"like the cluster grape of England." Again, he says: "There grow wild an incredible number of vines, that tho' savage, and so not so excellent, beside that much wood and shade sour them, they yield a pleasant grape, and I have drank a good clarett, though small and greenish, of Capt. Rappe's vintage of the savage grape."

More important, however, than the little party of Frenchmen, were the colonists that came this year, 1683, from Wales and from Germany. A few Welsh had arrived even before Penn, as we have seen, including the company in the *Lion,* in August, 1682, and some had come in the *Welcome* with him. This year others arrived, and the "Welsh Tract" west of Philadelphia, including the townships of Merion, Haverford, Radnor, and others, began to be compactly occupied by industrious settlers.

Persecution on account of their religious opinions had moved many of the newcomers, but they felt, besides, the hope of bettering their condition in a new land, under liberal and just laws. The

Nicholas Louis Zinzendorf

Count; bishop; missionary; gave name of Bethlehem to Moravian tract on the Lehigh river; traveled extensively in Pennsylvania doing missionary work, 1742

observation, and too palpable to be permitted to pass unrebuked. The committee then proceeded to show in detail how greatly the estimate made by the board for repairs surpassed what a liberal policy demanded. The plot now thickens and henceforth our legislative records are full of the story of internal improvements, which for several years overshadows all others. There was a vast amount of floating indebtedness to be paid off that was affecting the credit of the State. Party politics, too, was playing havoc with all the appointments. Appropriations were irregularly made and all work was fitfully done, costing far more than it would if made in a regular manner. One of the investigations relating to the Gettysburg railroad may be briefly described. It was a parallel line to the main works to a considerable extent, and if completed would have diverted trade from Pennsylvania to the Baltimore and Ohio road. A road was to be built from Columbia to Gettysburg and then there would be a through line to the Baltimore and Ohio. The committee remarked that of all the works of doubtful expediency constructed by the State, there was none so useless, so expensive or of as little value as this. It was commenced by fraud and intrigue and will end in disgrace and loss to the Commonwealth. The road was to cost $77,340 per mile, nearly double as much as any other road at that time built in the country. Six sections which were estimated to cost $37,660 had cost $99,181. Sections had been relet at greatly advanced prices to the old contractors, without abandoning the former contracts or stopping work under them, or without advertising for proposals. Politics had, indeed, played its disastrous part. During the election of 1838 those who were conducting the works interfered in the pending election for Governor. The superintendent raised the contractors' prices by a connivance at the provisions and injunctions of the law, and the contractors in turn taxed the men engaged upon the work as laborers large proportionate amounts of their hard earnings to bet upon Mr. Ritner's election, and to bear the electioneering expenses. In some cases this sys-

tem of oppression and robbery was resisted and the money collected by an appeal to the law.

When Governor Porter came to have a knowledge of the public improvements his zeal for them greatly cooled. He declared in his first annual message that it was incumbent on him to exhibit the actual productiveness of our internal improvements in a light somewhat less flattering than that in which it had usually appeared. . . . "It had been customary to state the gross amount of tolls derived from the canals and railroads in such a manner as to convey the impression that they yielded that sum clear of all deductions for management and repairs. The constant yearly increase of tolls had served as a powerful stimulant to the prosecution and extension of the entire system of our improvements. Men of sanguine feelings had confidently looked forward to an early day on which the tolls arising from our improvements would not only pay the interest on the whole State debt, but yield, in addition, a large surplus to be applied to the extinguishment of the principal. Local interest and ardent public enterprise readily concurred in this opinion. We had embarked in the system too deeply, both in pecuniary investments, and in a State pride, to turn back. The great undertaking must go through; we had pledged our faith, our firmness and our ability to that effect, and we gathered hope and confidence wherever they could be found. It is not surprising therefore, that our governors, legislators and people have deceived themselves and deceived each other in pursuit of the favorite object. It forms no just ground of censure against the active supporters of our system of internal improvements that they have fallen short, far short, of public expectation, in the amount of revenue they afforded. The time may perhaps arise, at no very distant day, when the increase of our population, business and wealth will enable us to realize the flattering anticipations of the early friends of the system."

The income from tolls and motive power for 1835 had been $684,357; repairs and cost of motive power, $431,626. 1836,

income $671,849; repairs, $551,024. 1837, income, $975,350; repairs, $883,516. 1838, income, $966,029; repairs, $1,069,657; debts due, $275,000; deficit, $378,628. 1839, income, $1,101,904; repairs, $656,460.

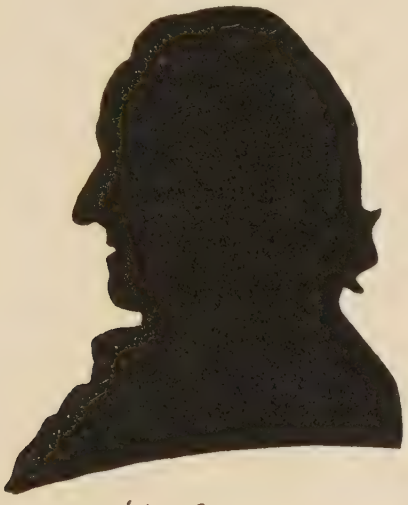
Thus the State made a poor showing as a builder and manager of canals and railroads. Those in charge had covered up the truth, and the public had been fooled into believing that the improvements paid. As long as the people were not taxed they did not care. The State, instead of paying, kept borrowing and telling the people that eventually enough would come from the works to pay all expenses, interest, and the debt itself. The time was rapidly coming when the truth would be known and the people be compelled to foot the bill. Indeed, the time had now come when the Governor had to tell a part of the truth. "The affairs of the Commonwealth," he said, in his message of 1840, "have been for several years gradually verging on towards deeper and deeper embarrassment, until we have at length reached this unexpected deficiency of funds in the treasury to meet the demands upon it. The people have been told again and again that our fiscal condition was flourishing and prosperous, while in fact our prosperity was all based on paper calculations and loans, which we are just now beginning to perceive bear interest, and are some day to be paid." The sale of the public property was impracticable and the Governor was firmly opposed to more loans. Taxation, therefore, was the only expedient.

Accordingly, on the 11th of June, 1840, a tax "to create additional revenue to be applied towards the payment of interest and the extinguishment of the debts of the Commonwealth," which was to bring in $600,000 annually, was imposed. It was to be collected for five years. Its advocates believed that the sum thus raised, together with other resources, would "probably liquidate the interest account without further resort to loans for that purpose." It provided "such a rate for the assessment of taxes as to fall with gentle weight on those who are little able to bear any

addition to their expenses." The articles taxed were those purely of luxury, gold watches, pleasure carriages, household furniture exceeding in value $300, together with bonds, bills, and notes of solvent obligors, bank stock, or stock in other corporations, yielding dividends of at least one per cent., salaries of public officers and real estate. Although this act undoubtedly operated with some hardship upon those who fell within its provisions, still they did not suffer much, for they did not belong to the poorer classes. Governor Porter defended his scheme of taxation in his next message. He said: "I recommended taxation; that recommendation was adopted by the legislature and it is a source of proud gratification to me when I consider that the people of Pennsylvania, almost to a man, so far as I have been informed, with a firmness and patriotism worthy of themselves, have yielded to this necessity without murmur or repining. I feel fully convinced that at the expiration of the five years at farthest, with a reasonable degree of prudence, and with strict economy in the management of our affairs, the income of our improvements will render renewal of this law wholly unnecessary."

Still, all did not pay the taxes so willingly. The Governor had presented a too rosy view. Indeed, his own language betrayed the truth. "If," he said, "any difference of opinion exists as to the necessity of this tax, let these questions be answered by those objecting. Does not Pennsylvania owe this debt? Is she not morally and legally bound to pay it and its interest as it falls due? Can they point out any other mode by which this can be done?" At that time no tax had yet been collected. The act was amended in various ways in 1841 to make it more palatable. The county commissioners were delinquent and some of them made no returns, consequently the Governor was quite unable to give the legislature much information on the subject, except that only a small amount of taxes had been collected. This was not strong proof that the people were willing to pay and to save the State credit. The Governor talked well, declared that the debt

must be paid, and that taxes must be imposed. On this subject there was, he said, no diversity of opinion among the great mass of the citizens of the State. All agree that whenever the constituted authorities of the Commonwealth have entered into engagements conformably to the constitution and laws, whether these



John Dickinson

Member of Assembly, 1764; the Colonial Congress, 1765; and the first Continental Congress, 1774; commissioned brigadier-general, 1777; member Federal Constitutional Convention; founder Dickinson college, Carlisle, 1783; president of Supreme Executive Council, 1782-1785

engagements have been characterized by due prudence and a proper regard to the interests of the public or not, the honor of the State, the permanence of our republican institutions, and a sacred regard to the sanctity of public engagements, require that the resources of the Commonwealth and the energies of her citizens be put in requisition to meet her public engagements promptly, punctually, and unhesitatingly. But the uncomfortable

fact is, if they thought so, they set their good intentions aside by not paying their taxes. They were strangely delinquent for a people who believed in maintaining the faith of the State. They were more interested in escaping the payment of their taxes, which would save the honor of the State, than in preserving it at a slight sacrifice, perhaps, to themselves.

Another remedy was to sell the State stocks, railroads and canals. This was intimated by the Governor in his first message in 1840, especially the sale of the bank stocks. There were two strong reasons for doing this; they would bring a good price, yield some much-needed money, and again the State would thereby be divorced from the banks. Once more they had suspended specie payments and were discredited institutions. "The interest of the State," said the State treasurer, A. H. Read, in 1841, "as a banker is necessarily subjected to all the fluctuations, suspensions, and explosions of the present miserably defective system. The aid and countenance accorded to suspended banks, in virtue of a partnership with the Commonwealth, naturally tends to lower the standard of morals in the community, to depress the character of the State for high moral sentiment, and to impress a withering stain upon our national escutcheon. The only objection ever made to the sale of these stocks is, they are productive. This is not even a plausible objection. They are productive stocks, and therefore will command a fair price in the market, with the advantage of a prompt and ready sale, and hence peculiarly adapted to the pressing exigencies of an exhausted treasury. Even were it morally honest, under other circumstances, to continue a partnership with suspended banks, it cannot be right, when the public creditor, who has confided in the faith and honor of the State, is daily knocking at your treasury in vain." The productive character of this investment of the people's money is not a legitimate argument, because governments are instituted for specific purposes, and not at liberty to engage in any and every pursuit which may present the stimulus of large

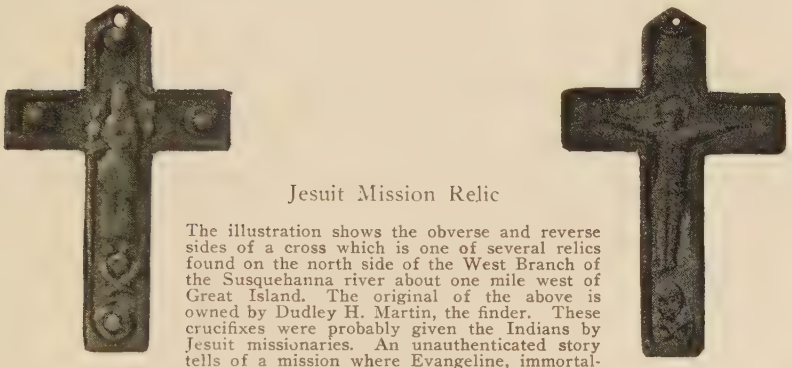
profits. If admitted as an argument, it would prove too much; it would justify the Commonwealth in commencing the manufacture of leather and iron, and in growing silk and wool, or any other business of equal profits with that of banking. What would be the conduct of a prudent individual in like circumstances? His credit exhausted, his notes at a discount, further loans refused, no means of paying interest on his accumulated debts, large investments previously made in reference to his principal business lying dead and unproductive for the want of a small additional sum, would he hesitate? Would he not instantly part with his bank stocks to relieve his embarrassment and put his affairs in a prosperous condition. I am not aware of any other resource for the payment of interest on February 1 but the sale of a portion of these stocks." The Governor also recommended at the same time the sale of the motive power on the State railroads, including locomotive engines, cars, tenders, workshops, engine-houses, depots, wells, water-power, sheds, mechanical instruments, and all other appurtenances of motive power.

In Governor Porter's first message he strongly urged a separation of the State and banking institutions. He said: "The association of private individuals with the State in banking institutions results almost entirely to the advantage of the former. Whatever hopes may have been founded on such association by the legislature, that the banks thus owned would be at all times ready to aid the Commonwealth, have been illusory. Although the State owns 3,750 shares of stock in the Pennsylvania bank, 5,233 shares in the Philadelphia bank, and 1,708 shares in the Farmers' and Mechanics' bank, yet she has not such a share in the direction of either as to control any of their proceedings, and derives no benefit from the partnership. Her capital is used by her individual associates for purposes of private gain and speculation, and the Commonwealth, when she wants money, is compelled to look elsewhere. I, therefore, recommend the passage of a law authorizing the sale of the State's stock in said banks, at such

time and in such manner as will yield the greatest amount to the State; or, if it be found that such sale cannot be made without too great a sacrifice, owing to adverse circumstances or other causes, that authority be given to declare their charters annulled and to divide the assets among the State and private stockholders."

Never did sounder reasons exist for selling public property, yet the legislature refused to give the Governor authority to sell. Did the banks oppose the sale of them? Did they fear that they would decline in value by the sale of such a large quantity, or by the retirement of the State as a shareholder? Whatever the reasons might have been the stocks began to decline. And still the legislature declined to sell, though the value of the stocks was depreciating and the credit of the State was sinking still lower. Although the bankruptcy of the State was staring the Governor in the face, and he was putting forth his best efforts to save its credit, he continued to urge the completion of the public improvements. If they were not, various enterprises would be revived; if they were, it was doubtful if they would pay much. These were the North Branch extension from Lackawanna to the New York line, to connect there with the New York system; the Erie extension from Greenville to Erie harbor, and the Wiconisco canal from Duncan's island to Wiconisco creek, and a short road to avoid an inclined plane at Columbia. In 1840 $3,322,333 had been spent on these and $4,553,503 were needed to finish them; and the Governor urged their completion, notwithstanding their doubtful utility. The Gettysburg railroad was dead, for all time; that sink was finally closed, but the time had not quite come for extinguishing the rest of these ill-conceived enterprises. The true policy, so Governor Porter thought, was to finish these and build no more. The State treasurer in 1841 still declared that the policy heretofore pursued of negotiating loans for the construction of our public works, thereby stimulating industry, maintaining the character and dignity of the State, and placing us in the

front rank in the march of improvement, is in the main approved, that the public debt is a matter of regret only in so far as the fruits thereof have been recklessly squandered on local projects. But a public debt should always be limited by the amount of available resources. There was a point, however, beyond which that



Jesuit Mission Relic

The illustration shows the obverse and reverse sides of a cross which is one of several relics found on the north side of the West Branch of the Susquehanna river about one mile west of Great Island. The original of the above is owned by Dudley H. Martin, the finder. These crucifixes were probably given the Indians by Jesuit missionaries. An unauthenticated story tells of a mission where Evangeline, immortalized by Longfellow, stopped in search for her lover, which, if true, might explain the many relics found in the locality. To give further color to the story, a warrant of land near by was taken out in 1794 by Robert Ritchey and named Acadia, which name it still retains. Photographed especially for this work by C. Alex. Shempp

policy should be abandoned, and that point in Pennsylvania had already been reached. The credit of the Commonwealth had been pushed to its utmost limit and any further effort to extend it would, if successful, sever the cords of our social compact, part us from the anchor of our hope, and wreck us in the gulf of State bankruptcy. The system of loans was at an end. The source of revenue had failed; that fountain had become dry; we could not, if we would, obtain further loans. The tax law of the last session, contrary to expectation, had failed to revive our waning credit; our stocks continued to decline in the market. The eagle-eyed capitalist, comparing our resources with the liabilities incurred, refused to receive them, and if not from an enlightened policy, from imperative necessity, we must change our mode of

action; we must have recourse to our vendible and available resources for the completion of our splendid system of internal improvements. At last the borrowing power was exhausted, while the people who were so willing to come to the rescue and save the declining credit of the State by paying their taxes were scarce. But was there no income from their gigantic system of canals and other modes of transportation? Nearly twenty years had expired since beginning them, and it was quite time that some revenue should come from them unless this was to utterly fail.

The main line of improvements, though built at a cost far greater than to a private individual, would have paid a handsome profit if it had been managed by the State after its completion. But individuals who are always alert to make a fortune quickly stepped in and undertook to use the means of transportation thus prepared for their own gain, and so the State reaped no profit from its undertaking. It had simply prepared a splendid way for a fresh set of individuals to reap great fortunes at the expense of other people of the State. But others besides them profited. The contractors and employees were legion and their claims against the State were innumerable. If a contractor bid far below another and less than he ought, he did not hesitate to go on with his work, confident that the legislature would reimburse him in the end. Such a method destroyed the whole force and effect of competition in bidding for contracts, because the contractor did not care how low he took the contract, provided he had some assurance that the legislature would remunerate him "and which he had a strong assurance they would do from the legislation of the last few years on the subject."

A few dissatisfied contractors and others imposed on the credulity and stimulated the ambition of some member of the legislature to offer a petition complaining of public grievances. A committee to investigate was appointed, subpoenas were issued, and straightway swarms of hungry confederates repaired to the seat of government to prosecute their claims before the legis-

lature, to lounge at the public expense and join in a wholesale pillage of the treasury. In the close of the session the committee reports, "the witnesses return to their homes and laugh at the trick as they pocket the spoils." A large portion of the legislative expenses is incurred in this way. The extraordinary increase of these expenses, over those of all other departments of the government, has been of late years a matter of just complaint. At last, in 1842, the Governor began to think it was time for the State to retire from the transportation business. He had reached this conclusion with respect to banking business before he became Governor, but it needed some more hard experience of sham contracts, worthless officials, and a lack of income to convince him that the State was not prepared to build and manage canals and railroads. The story of trying to complete the North Branch and Erie extension canals was disheartening. They had cost far more than the estimates; the contractors had taken all they could get and serenely continued to work, confident that the legislature would amply compensate them for their patriotic endeavors to complete the canals after the commissioners were unable to supply any more funds. Notwithstanding all this the Governor hesitated to call a halt. One reason, and a potent one, was that contractors would have a new class of claims for remuneration for the losses sustained by the State's abandonment of its work. "Contractors who have gone on to the work, and perhaps executed the least profitable part of it, will have fair claims on the justice of the legislature for remuneration for the losses they have sustained by an abandonment of the work by the State." "Judging from the success which usually crowns perseverance in similar applications before the legislature, there can be but little doubt that this class of claimants will not go away unanswered and unsatisfied." The Governor declared that if the State were out of debt he would not favor selling the transportation lines, but, oppressed as the State was, its credit gone, unable to borrow any more, he proposed to sell the Columbia railroad

and the Delaware division of the Pennsylvania canal. A little later he was ready to sell all; and public opinion was moving in the same direction.

We may now turn to other matters. In October, 1839, most of the banks in Philadelphia suspended specie payments, and those in other parts of the State followed their example. The banks generally throughout the Union did likewise, except those of New York city. The suspension came as a surprise to the public, paralyzed business and shook public and private credit. From all classes of the community, save those alone who were interested in banks, was heard a loud and deep condemnation of the measure. Innumerable remedies were suggested, some looking to the regulation of these institutions, others to their punishment and extirpation, and the Governor was besought to convene the legislature at an earlier day to consider measures for relieving the banks and the people. There were at that time fifty-two banks in the State, with an aggregate capital of about sixty million dollars. Some had been so disregardful of the law concerning returns as to make no returns, or such imperfect ones that it was impossible to arrive at anything like accuracy in the amount of their circulations, specie, or debts due to them. Their notes in circulation amounted to thirty-three million dollars and the amounts due to them perhaps seventy millions. "Stocks in our railroads, canals, turnpikes, etc., were held by some of these banks, and in the shape of subscriptions, bonuses or dividends, they contributed largely to the general fund in the State treasury, and to the support of the common school system. Their charters expired at various periods between that time and 1870, and the stock in them was owned by a great number of persons of all ages, classes, conditions and pecuniary means. The capitalists of the country, as well as those of moderate means, widows, orphans and guardians, all own stock in our several banking institutions." Thus the business interests and banking institutions were intimately connected together and mutually exerted a powerful in-

fluence on each other. From one point of view there was a marked difference in the condition of the people at this time from what it was in 1816-18. Then, as now, the country was flooded with foreign goods, which low duties, and credit upon those duties, enabled foreigners to introduce and then create a large debt abroad. Then, as now, the banking capital, banking facilities, and bank issues were increased beyond what the necessities of the country for the healthful transaction of its business required. Then the spirit of speculation had infected the agricultural as well as other portions of the community; now, however, the farmers were generally out of debt and flourishing; the mercantile and manufacturing classes were the principal sufferers by an undue expansion of the credit system. A large amount was due abroad, borrowed for creating banks, canals, railroads, and other purposes, and also by the State. The banks had acted as the brokers on a large scale in negotiating the State loans with foreign capitalists. But the legislatures of the several States had created the loans, and were therefore responsible for furnishing the chief aliment in feeding the credit system. It was no doubt true that the inordinate increase of banks in late years had been partly produced by the immense accumulation of State credits and had, in some degree, stimulated the action of the legislatures of the several States by affording agents to negotiate and customers to consume the avails of the stock when negotiated.

Until within the last year the State had been able to borrow money without difficulty on State stocks in Europe and to pay the interest arising in former loans by new ones. The people felt no inconvenience from this inflated system of credits and seldom reflected that a day of reckoning would come, when the State could then pay debts no longer. States, banks, corporations, and individuals all moved forward in harmonious union, borrowing all they could and wherever they could, without reference to their future ability and means of repayment. The delusion was over at last. State stocks were unsalable, a drug in

foreign markets, and the State was asked to pay the interest on its permanent loans, and had no means of paying unless specie was exported, "except to rely on the remote avails of our agricultural productions or dispose of more State stock, at a ruinous sacrifice."

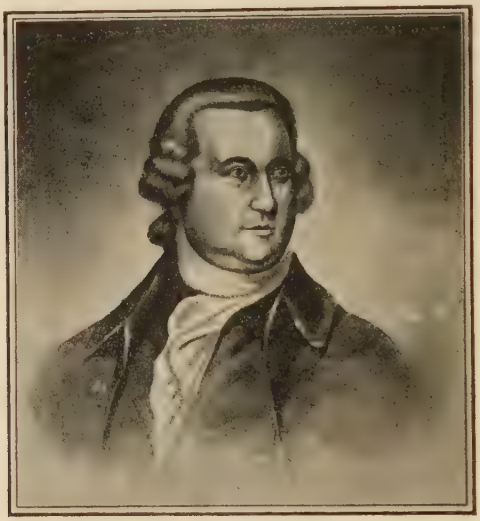
The legislature took the matter in hand and attempted to prescribe a remedy. So strongly entrenched were the banks in the Assembly, there was no danger of the passage of any of the Governor's stern recommendations. On the 3d of April, it was resolved that the banks which did not pay on demand all their notes, bills, deposits and other liabilities in gold or silver coin should forfeit their charters. The Governor in his next message stated that though the day fixed for resuming specie payments was more remote than he wished at the time, yet the period of indulgence had nearly passed away and there was good ground to believe that the banks would be prepared to discharge their liabilities in specie. Should they do so, by continuing strictly to observe the law and fulfilling the just expectations of the public, they might regain the confidence they had lost, and especially if they adopted better regulations. One of the most immediate advantages resulting to the community from the resumption of specie payments would be the entire expulsion from circulation of the illegitimate brood of small notes that had been poured in from the neighboring States on all sides in defiance of law and of the most active endeavors to suppress them. We could conclude without recommending that no increase of banking capital be made under any circumstances, and that effectual provision be made by law that if any bank should at any time hereafter suspend specie payments it should be, ipso facto, a forfeiture of its charter. Nothing short of an absolute and unconditional provision of this kind could arrest the frequent over-issues by the banks, induced by the inordinate cupidity of those under whose directions they may be conducted. But the Governor's hopes were not to be realized. The greatest irregularity still prevailed in the currency. There was not much of that wretched, illegal trash in circulation which dur-

ing the early part of the last six years had infected all sections of the Commonwealth in the forms of notes, checks, certificates, etc., of corporations and individuals for small sums, put forth without lawful authority and in spite of the prohibition of law, but there was still a large amount of notes in circulation, ostensibly legal, and purporting to be of equal value, because founded on the faith of the State, by whatever bank issued, and yet, notwithstanding this fact, discredited and repudiated by the very institutions for whose benefit and relief they were authorized to be issued.

In 1841 the legislature authorized the banks to issue notes below $5 to the amount of $3,100,000 as a loan to the State, that were to be used in paying its expenditures, schools, pensions and the like. By this plan banks were authorized to issue notes to the amount of their respective subscriptions to the loan and pay them into the State treasury, and any holder of $100 or more of them could present them to the issuing bank and when doing so was entitled to an order on the auditor-general for an equal amount of stock. In this manner were they to be redeemed; meanwhile the banks were entitled to one per cent. interest on them while they were in circulation. They were to be received by the bank that issued them in payment of debts due to it, and on deposit, like currency, and the State treasurer was authorized to re-issue them. The Governor vetoed the bill, but the banks were too strong for him. They succeeded in passing the bill over his veto, and he was compelled to execute the law. "I did hope," he said in his message in 1842, "that some of the evils which have resulted from it might have been obviated if it was enforced by me and acted upon in a spirit of enlarged wisdom by the banks themselves." This hope had been vain. The worst anticipations had been realized. The Governor thought the law ought to be repealed, the loan forced, and the banks compelled to begin the payment of specie on the 1st of June.

Governor Porter was not less zealous in trying to restrict the spread of corporations. In his message of 1840 he said: "Let

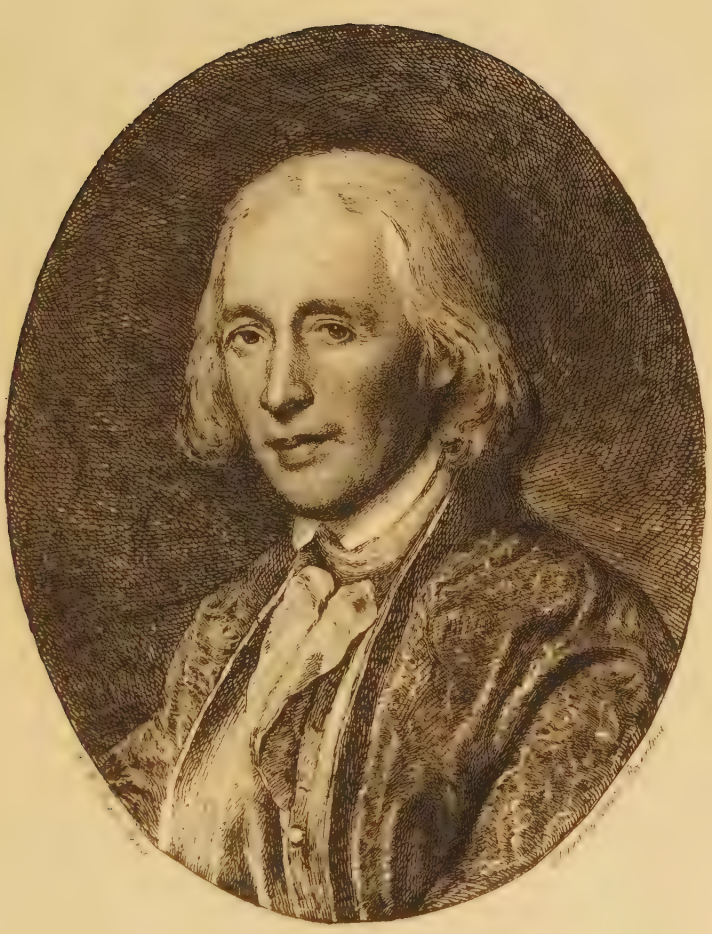
the increase of corporations hereafter be limited to cases of undoubted public utility, where individual capital and enterprise are insufficient to accomplish the object intended, and let the power of the legislature to control or abolish them, be at all times expressly reserved. A system resting on opposite principles must



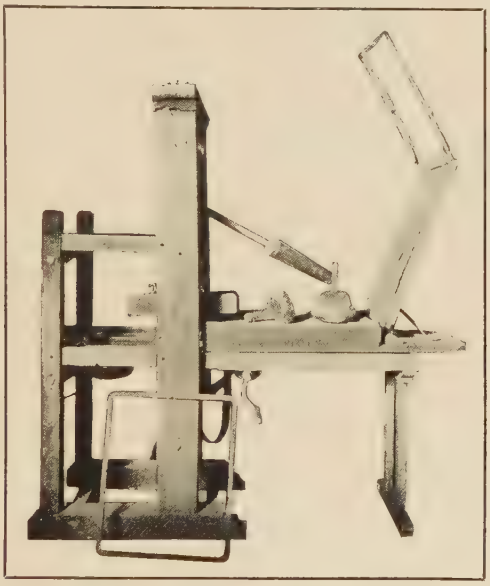
Frederick Augustus Conrad Muhlenberg

Clergyman; congressman, 1779-1787, and speaker of the House. Reproduced for this work from an original painting

eventually transfer nearly all the powers and authorities of the legislature, as well as the business of the people, to corporate bodies, and then silently but effectually achieve a revolution in our civil relations; for if the obligations of men may be converted into those of a limited and artificial nature, instead of a direct personal responsibility, it is manifest that the very elementary principles of society are changed. We shall be constrained under



England, or that class which in Continental Europe would be called the lesser nobility. There was a Sir John Markham, Judge of the Common Pleas from 1396 to 1407, from whom two families descended, both seated in Nottinghamshire, bearing the same arms, which also the William Markham who came to Pennsyl-



Old Franklin Press

Photographed especially for this work by J. F. Sachse from the original in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania

vania used as a seal impaled with the arms of Thomas of Dublin. He is described as "Captain Markham" at the time when Penn intrusted him with the inauguration of a government over his newly acquired territories. It is a mere conjecture, but we hazard it, that he was son of the Henry Markham who was colonel in Ireland in Cromwell's time, during which Admiral Penn received lands there. William Markham died poor in 1704, and sixty

years later his granddaughter was receiving a pension from the Proprietaries.

Christopher Taylor is said to have been a Puritan minister prior to conversion by George Fox, and was a schoolmaster in England, and the author of a compendium of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, published in 1679. Thomas Holme, who succeeded Captain William Crispin as Surveyor-General of the province, and in a few years published a map of all the lots, bore the title of captain as no mere compliment or local rank, for he was such in the army of Oliver Cromwell. Holme became a member of the Society of Friends in 1659, and in April, 1682, was a resident of the city of Waterford, Ireland. One of his daughters married in 1683 Captain Crispin's son Silas, who in some way, probably maternally, was a cousin of William Penn. John Simcock, of humbler antecedents, was called by the Quakers "a nursing father in Israel." The career in Pennsylvania of Ralph Withers, Francis Whitwell, John Songhurst, and William Stockdale, ministers among Friends, was cut short by early death. William Biles will appear later in these pages. His son William married the daughter of Thomas Langhorne, assemblyman, who had been a preacher in England. Langhorne's son became Chief Justice of the province. James Harrison, a shoemaker, who had travelled much as a preacher, acted as Penn's steward at the manor which was surveyed for the Proprietary in Bucks county, and called Pennsbury. Harrison's son-in-law, Phineas Pemberton, a grocer from Lancashire, was one of the most important office-holders in the province. The ancestor of the Confederate general who surrendered to Grant at Vicksburg, he is to be classed as one of the patriarchs from whom the more important people of Philadelphia have descended. His son Israel, a merchant, sat in the Assembly, and a second Israel, called "junior" prior to 1754, was sometimes called "King of the Quakers," while his brother James was one of the Quaker assemblymen who could not be brought to vote for military measures. William Yardley was Phineas

Pemberton's uncle. He and Thomas Janney left large families, the latter's name being widely spread also in Virginia. Thomas Wynne was a Welsh surgeon, also preacher and writer; his name still survives, while his daughter, who married Edward Jones, another Welsh physician, was grandmother of Thomas Cadwalader, whom we shall note as a councillor to later Lieutenant-Governors, and great-grandmother of John Dickinson, who became head of the government of the State. John Eckley, another preacher, dying in 1690, left an only daughter, who ran off from the Quakers, and was married over in New Jersey by a Church of England missionary to Colonel Daniel Coxe, who had large proprietary interests in that province and was son of the physician to Charles II., who was at one time patentee of Carolina. The Coxes of Drifton, Pa., are descendants. Samuel Carpenter was the rich man of the early day, but lost considerable property. One of his grandsons removed to Salem county, New Jersey; a granddaughter was ancestress of an extensive branch of the Wharton family of the present day, including Joseph Wharton, William Wharton, Wharton Barker, and Bromley Wharton, private secretary to Governor Pennypacker, and also of John M. Scott, now President *pro tem.* of the State Senate; while Samuel Richardson, at one time fellow member with Carpenter of the Provincial Council, was ancestor of Governor Pennypacker. Robert Turner had been a merchant in Dublin: one of his daughters married Francis Rawle, who was an important man at an early date. James Claypoole was the ancestor of the present Cornelius Vanderbilt of New York. The names of Newlin, Maris, Pennock, Levis, Waln and Kirkbride are yet extant among us. The male line of Caleb Pusey, a preacher and a writer against George Keith, is extinct. Griffith Owen, another preacher, was a Welsh physician. Joseph Growdon, when of Anstle in the county of Cornwall, gentleman, joined his father, Lawrence Growdon, of Trevose in said county, gentleman, as one of the "first purchasers," they buying from William Penn before his first

visit to Pennsylvania the goodly quantity of 5,000 acres each. These they had located upon the Neshaminy Creek in Bucks county. Joseph Growdon came to America very soon after the purchase, and settled upon the property, building a dwelling-house still standing, and giving it the name of "Trevose." He was several terms Speaker. Of his children, Joseph became Attorney-General of the province; Elizabeth married Francis Richardson, her descendants being found to-day in Philadelphia; Grace married David Lloyd; and Lawrence became a member of the Governor's council, one of Lawrence's daughters marrying in 1753 the prominent politician, Joseph Galloway. David Lloyd was a cousin of Thomas Lloyd. Thomas Lloyd was the third son of Charles Lloyd of Dolobran by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Stanley of Knockin. The writer of these lines has set forth the ancestry in "The Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania;" it will contribute to an understanding of our colonial history to know that John Delaval, Richard Hill (who married Delaval's widow), Samuel Preston, and Isaac Norris were Lloyd's sons-in-law. Isaac Norris and William Trent in 1704 bought a tract belonging to William Penn's son William, and on this was duly laid out the town of Norristown.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SUSPENSION AND RESTORATION OF PENN'S GOVERNMENT AND HIS SECOND VISIT

WILLIAM Penn had not been brought up a business man, but a knight's son, to be courtier and soldier, while bailiffs, solicitors and agents drew up his papers and handled his money. He had sacrificed the husbanding of his patrimony to the career of a minister among Friends, which, involving trials and punishment, traveling and putting forth books, engrossed his attention, and devoured his income as much perhaps as would have the diversions of the worldly. In the great land speculation into which philanthropy had led him, the Indians were not cheated with a few beads, and the impost which the colonists in 1683 offered to him was refused; so the first cost was very heavy. He undertook when the Duke of York became King of England to be the patron at Court of those persecuted on account of religion, and so "overspent" the considerable sum of £3000 in that reign. Then came the war in Ireland, and other causes by which his estate, called Shanagarry, near Cork, was unproductive. In 1705 he estimated that on an average in the fifteen years between his first and second visits to Pennsylvania he had spent £400 annually in London "to hinder much mischief against us if not to do us much good."

Indebtedness from residence in London was not the only bad result of intimacy with James II. Penn was long suspected of being a Papist, and even called a Jesuit; and after the Revolution

of 1688 was several times accused of connection with plots to restore James to the throne. Although escaping conviction of any actual treason to William and Mary, Penn was deprived of the governorship of Pennsylvania and the counties on the Delaware on the ground of his administration of it being a failure, and as a matter of prudence at a time when there was war with France. Some lawyers were of the opinion that the powers of government granted to William Penn were part of the regalia of the Crown, which Charles II could not alienate for longer than his own life. But without any judicial decision or even the bringing of a writ of *quo warranto,* the region was committed to the care of Benjamin Fletcher, esq., as Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief, he holding the same position in the province of New York and its dependencies. He was thus made responsible for the defense of a settlement of which the inhabitants were conscientiously opposed to war, and which a force of 500 men could capture in the unprepared condition in which he found it. He tried to be considerate of the Quakers, and was careful of the property rights of the Proprietary, while laboring to organize and secure appropriations for a militia. His commission, dated October 21, 1692, under which he did not take possession until April 26, 1693, required him to appoint a Lieutenant-Governor and a Council, and to execute such reasonable laws as were then in force or thereafter agreed upon by him with the advice and consent of the Council and Assembly. He offered the first place in the Council to Lloyd, who declined it. Then he conferred it upon Markham, whom, on April 27, with the unanimous consent of the other councillors, he appointed Lieutenant-Governor. On a question of the validity of the former laws, Fletcher confirmed most of them, with some amendments to make them conform more to the laws of England, until the royal pleasure should be known. When the Assembly would not set back the wheels of progress by making burglary punishable with death, he yielded. He was willing to fix a salary of six shillings a day for each member and nine shillings for the

Speaker; but the councillors, unable to obtain a salary for themselves or the Lieutenant-Governor, unanimously rejected the bill. The Assembly granted in 1693 a tax of 1*d.* per pound for the support of the government, and the next year would have done the same in reply to his promise that, in consideration of their scruples, the money "should not be dipped in blood," but should "feed the hungry and clothe the naked" Indians, unable to hunt because fighting for the English, but Fletcher would not consent to the formal appropriation of part of the proceeds to Lloyd and Markham. Lloyd died Sept. 10, 1694.

Penn, on December 4, 1692, wrote to his friends in Pennsylvania to get one hundred persons there to lend him £100 each for three years, without interest, in which case he would in six months come over with all his family. The amount was not raised. Nevertheless Penn, at the beginning of August, 1694, attended the committee of the Privy Council for trade and plantations, and promised that if restored to the government, he would with all convenient speed go to Pennsylvania, and would transmit to the Council and Assembly Queen Mary's orders, which, he declared, he did not doubt would be complied with, as well as at all times such orders as their Majesties might give for supplying a quota of men, or defraying the share of the expense their Majesties should think necessary for the safety of the dominions in America; furthermore, he would appoint Markham as his deputy; and if the government of Pennsylvania should not comply with the royal orders, Penn would submit the direction of the military to their Majesties' pleasure; and the laws passed by the Assembly in May, 1693, not yet confirmed or rejected by her Majesty, should be executed until altered by the Assembly. The Attorney-General and Solicitor-General gave an opinion that the government granted to Penn, being subject to their Majesties' sovereignty, their Majesties could appoint a governor in extraordinary exigencies through the default or neglect of Penn or those appointed by him in protecting or defending the province or in-

habitants in time of danger, but the right of government belonged to him when those reasons failed or ceased. The committee recommended the restoration of the government, with directions that on application of the Governor or commander-in-chief of New York, a quota not exceeding 80 men or the value of the charge thereof be sent from Pennsylvania to New York. Accordingly, William and Mary, by letters patent dated August 20, 1694, received in Pennsylvania the following March, announced that they had thought fit to restore the administration of the government to Penn, and that the authority of Fletcher should cease. The next day the Queen signed a letter commanding the Proprietary at all times on request of the governor and commander-in-chief of New York to send 80 men with their officers or the expense of maintaining the same for the defense of the latter province, and that the Proprietary give directions for making provision for the same at the public charge of the province of Pennsylvania and country of New Castle.

Not yet able to return to America, Penn on 9 mo. 24, 1694, commissioned Markham as Lieutenant-Governor, with the advice and consent of John Goodson and Samuel Carpenter as Assistants, or either of them. The commissions read "to govern according to the known laws and usages," and Markham proceeded under the frame of government of 1683, causing a Provincial Council to be elected. Fletcher, still commander-in-chief at New York, on April 15, 1695, made application for the eighty men and a captain, two lieutenants, etc., to be at Albany as soon as possible after May 1, and renewed the application in June, asking that they be at Albany as soon as possible after August 1; but the councillors, on account of harvest, would not allow the Assembly to be convened before September 9; and to Markham's question: "Would you be willing that if an enemy should assault us I should defend you by force of arms?" some answered that they would; others, that they must leave every one to his own liberty, and that Governor Penn's instructions must be followed, and it

Specimen of Ephrata Cloister Pen Work, 1747

From the collection of J. F. Sachse

being his business they had nothing to do with it. By the time the Assembly met, choosing Edward Shippen as Speaker, it had come to be the opinion of the members of both that body and the Council that the frame of government was no longer in force, and so, after recalling Fletcher's promise when Governor of Pennsylvania that the money voted to him for support of government should be applied to providing for the Indians, and declaring that what they might now vote for the King to be used as he pleased, should be deemed a compliance with the letter of the Queen as far as conscience and ability permitted, the Council and Assembly tacked an act of settlement establishing a charter to an act appropriating 250*l.* for the support of the King's government; but Markham did not feel that he could so bind the Proprietary, and, despairing of obtaining satisfaction of the military demands, exercised the prerogative which the denial of the validity of the old frame left him, and dissolved both Council and Assembly. Fletcher in lamentation wrote in June, 1696: "The town of Philadelphia in fourteen years' time is become near equal to the city of New York in trade and riches," and explained that the hardships of defending his province had driven many of the people to Philadelphia to enjoy their ease, and, there being no duty on trade in Pennsylvania, the trade of his province had been drawn thither. Markham, some of whose letters to Penn were captured by the French, and others, delayed by the roundabout voyages, was without instructions as to a Council.

Meanwhile Penn, fifty-one years of age, was taking a step for which mankind does not blame him, but which lowered the prospects in life of his three children then living, carried him into greater expenditure and deeper embarrassment, dragged his friends and taxpayers into the hardship of assisting him, and finally placed Pennsylvania under a new family with no other wealth than what could be gotten out of it—his second marriage 1 mo. 5, 1695-6. His children then living were Springett, the eldest, William, and Letitia. His eldest son died a month after

this without issue. The second son, two years later, married at the age of nineteen. Of the object of young William's "impetuous inclination," his father writes in 1707: "I wish she had brought more wisdom since she brought so little money to help the family." The young man, by 1703, when he came to Pennsylvania, jealous of his step-mother and her children, and emancipated from his father, had raised his own set of creditors. The marriage portion of his sister, who became the wife of William Aubrey, was with difficulty raised. A note to the Penn and Logan Correspondence, published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, has passed an eulogium on Penn's second wife, Hannah, daughter of Thomas Callowhill, a worthy Quaker, dealer in groceries in Bristol; and it would be an ungracious task to contradict it, if we could. Suffice it to say, she was not satisfied to live in Pennsylvania, and inasmuch as she was of less social position than his first wife, Gulielma Maria, daughter of Sir William Springett, and had no influential connections to strengthen her husband in England, we may hazard the remark that a Pennsylvania girl would have been better for the lord of Pennsylvania; such a choice and remaining here would have had one worldly advantage—that of popularizing him.

On September 25, 1696, Markham appointed a Council for himself, and on October 26, John Goodson resigned as Assistant, and Arthur Cook presented commissions from the Proprietary, which Cook had kept secret for eighteen months, authorizing Markham to act according to law and charter with Samuel Jennings and Arthur Cook as Assistants. An Assembly was summoned and chose John Simcock Speaker, and passed five acts to which Markham consented on November 7, of which the last three were respectively how to raise county levies, for preventing of hogs, etc., running at large in the town of Chester, and for preventing accidents by fire in the towns of Philadelphia and New Castle. The first of the acts was a frame of government providing among other things for a Council of two members elected from each of

the six counties, and an Assembly of four elected from each county, the right of electing or being elected being confined to free denizens over twenty-one years old, having fifty acres of land, ten being seated and cleared, or having 50*l.* clear estate, and resident within the government two years before the election; any voter receiving a reward or gift for his vote should forfeit the right to vote that year, and any person giving or promising the same,

Early specimens of Wood Cuts made at Ephrata Community

From the Danner collection

in order to be elected, or offering to serve for nothing or for less wages than allowed by law, should be incapable of serving that year; the real estate of an alien dying before denizenation should pass as if he had been denizenised; the inhabitants should have liberty to fish and hunt upon their lands or any lands not enclosed. The act was to be in force until the Proprietary should signify his pleasure to the contrary, but nothing in the act was to preclude the inhabitants from any rights, privileges or immunities under the old frame of 1683 or belonging to them by virtue of any law, charter, or grants whatsoever. By the second act, 1*d.* per pound, etc., tax was levied, which raised 300*l.* Pennsylvania money for

Fletcher, who sent his thanks, but explained that what he had asked was the equivalent of 2,000*l.*

In December, Penn suggested to the Lords of Trade that the best way to regulate the quota would be by two deputies from each province meeting in a common assembly once a year or oftener during the war, and at least once in two years in times of peace, the Governor of New York presiding as the King's commissioner, and that the body should settle complaints between the provinces, and the King's commissioner should be commander-in-chief of the quotas against the common enemy. It was in pursuance of this idea that the congress at Albany was held in 1754, and the wisest men engaged in American affairs endeavored for a union of the colonies until one was actually effected in the Revolutionary War.

Philip Ford, the agent who had sold to the first purchasers, and managed other of Penn's affairs, claiming a balance of £10,500, Penn in March, 1696-7, deeded to him Pennsylvania and the Lower Territories, taking in return, instead of a defeasance to prove the transaction a mortgage, a lease dated April 1, 1697, for three years at £630 rent. The purpose of this was to enable Ford to escape a tax on personal estate, which his rights really were.

Markham's administration lasted until the arrival of William Penn the second time in America. These four years and a half were the great day of piracy on the American coast, the time of Captain Kidd. Much of the trade in the seaport towns was in ill-gotten goods, and the cupidity of the adventurers who held the offices for the execution of the laws bound them to the pirates. Markham's son-in-law, James Brown, at one time in the Assembly from Kent, was a pirate, sent to England in 1700, and, it is believed, hung. Most of the governors of New York were charged with some kind of malfeasance, and Benjamin Fletcher, it was said, licensed vessels sailing from New York with piratical designs. Edw. Randolph, Surveyor-General of Customs, accused Markham of conniving at piracy, and wrote that certain well

known pirates had been seen in Philadelphia, and that Markham had paid no attention to the Lords' proclamations, had neglected to prosecute forfeited bonds, and had adjourned the courts, to the benefit of fraudulent debtors. Some months later, when a piratical craft had come into Delaware bay, taking nine or ten ships, and committed several robberies on the people of Pennsylvania, Markham applied to the Earl of Bellomont for a man-of-war to guard the bay, but none were at the officer's disposal. Certain offenders being found in town, and pointed out to Markham, he made several arrests. Although the province contained at least 7,000 men capable of bearing arms, he was a weak governor at such times for want of a militia.

During Markham's administration, Robert Quarry, formerly Governor of South Carolina, became Judge of the Admiralty in Pennsylvania, and John Moore, who was a lawyer, the advocate in such matters. At the instigation of David Lloyd, who had had an education in the law, Anthony Morris, an early mayor of Philadelphia, at this time a justice of the county court, granted a writ of replevin by which certain goods seized by Quarry's order were taken out of the marshal's hands, and the owner, by Lloyd as attorney, prosecuted the marshal for the detainer. The marshal in justification, produced the King's letters patent with the King's effigy stamped at its head and the wax seal depending in a tin case. Lloyd, taking the commission in his hand, and exhibiting it, declaimed, "What is this? Do you think to scare us with a great box and a little baby. 'Tis true, fine pictures please children; but we are not to be frightened at such a rate." Penn was obliged by Quarry's reporting the replevin to the British government to have Morris removed from his judgeship, and when, in 1700, Lloyd was elected a councillor, Penn suspended him pending trial for these disrespectful speeches and postures. Perhaps from their extortionate practices, the customs officials gave Lloyd good reason for another remark with which he was charged, that whoever were instrumental or aided in

erecting or encouraging a court of admiralty in the province were greater enemies to the liberties and privileges of the people than those who promoted ship money in King Charles I's time. Crown officers and Churchmen, Quarry and his followers were on guard against citizens and Quakers. Quarry reported the shortcomings in the administration not only of Markham, but of Penn

Thomas Cadwalader

Physician; for many years a leader in the work of the Pennsylvania Hospital

and the deputies following him, and was the head of what Penn called the "hot Church party," which had many adherents in the Proprietary's possessions on Delaware bay. In Pennsylvania, in all the struggles as to arming the province down to the Revolution, the laymen of Christ Church, Philadelphia, in the establishment of which John Moore had been most prominent, next to Joshua Carpenter, were the nucleus of the political party opposed to the Society of Friends.

Suspension and Restoration of Government

When about to come a second time to Pennsylvania, William Penn secured as secretary James Logan of Bristol, born in Ireland of a good Scotch family, who had taught school, but was then in mercantile business, and they, with Penn's wife and her children, sailed from Cowes on September 9th, 1699, in the "Canterbury." On the way over a ship was sighted supposed to be an enemy, and Logan took arms for defense, while Penn, the stauncher Quaker—perhaps because a Quaker by conversion, while Logan was only a Quaker by birth—retired down below. The danger passed, after which Penn expostulated with Logan for engaging in battle. Logan replied that if Penn had disapproved, Penn, being Logan's master, should have ordered him down. They arrived in Philadelphia in December. Penn made the "slate-roof house" on Second street his residence, and Logan lived with him. The country seat was at the manor of Pennsbury in Bucks county.

To satisfy the British government, Penn soon summoned an Assembly, and secured a law against piracy and a law against illegal trade, and was able thus to express himself, "After so many calumnies and complaints we have been loaded with, I hope these two laws will in some degree wash us clean." An effort was made to give Penn a tax of 3*d.* per *l.*, but it was voted down. However, an impost on liquor, yielding between 500*l.* and 1000*l.*, was granted to him. Disagreeing to Markham's frame of government passed in 1696, the Proprietary thought the old frame of 1683 in force until abrogated as provided for in it. Accordingly the old frame was surrendered by the unanimous vote of the Council and Assembly on June 7, 1700, and it was unanimously agreed that all laws, including those passed at Chester in 1683, and the petition of right, and those just made at this session, should be in force only until twenty days after the adjournment of the next session. The next Assembly being opened at New Castle in October, Penn urged the importance of a frame of government and new set of laws, a statute of limitations or for quiet-

ing title to property, and a supply for the support of government. The Assembly levied a tax to raise 2000*l.* for him. This was not paid with the alacrity with which it was granted. It was claimed that the first purchasers having paid cash for their lands, had agreed to pay the quit rent to compensate the Proprietary for his expenses in the government. The opinionated religionists who were the majority of the colonists seem to have looked upon him as a Joshua making a distribution of the land; whereas his legal status was that of a William the Conqueror establishing a feudal system. They rather thought that he should sell to new purchasers at the old price, notwithstanding the rise in value. They considered the unsold land between Vine and South streets as a common, and from it they cut their wood. Of two grievances they felt assured. When the ten per cent. of the first purchases, instead of being located within the city of Philadelphia, were satisfied by land in the Liberties, lots in the city proper were given in addition, and were understood to be a free gift, whereas they were patented subject to quit rents. When, in 1701, the Assembly was asked to suggest a suitable expedient for the people's safety in privileges and property, the reply was, a charter embracing twenty-one favors, of which the eighth was to make the inhabitants easy in this matter of the city lots. Penn's answer was that he had tied them to nothing which the first purchasers present in the allotment of the city had not seemed readily to comply with, and by a replotting their lots had been increased to a double frontage; if they would surrender the increase, he would be easy as to the quit rents. The Assembly asked him to call the parties concerned; the latter were never either convinced or relieved. The other grievance was as to the land taken for roads. As an allowance for this, ten per cent. was added to the quantity of land paid for. The third favor asked by the Assembly was that for the future there be no such delays as in the past in the granting of patents for land, and the 10 per cent. be allowed. Penn promised his endeavor to prevent such delay and to allow the ten per

cent. when there was an overplus, but only two per cent. on surveyed lands when no more was to be found. However, he finally offered six per cent., whether so much had been included in the lines of the survey or not, and on this compromise the assemblymen were brought to his house on his last day in Philadelphia half an hour before his leaving them, and shut up in his parlor. They announced an acceptance under protest.

At the suggestion of Penn, the Governor of New York, in making peace with the Five Nations, extended it to the other English colonies; and on April 23, 1701, Penn made a treaty with the king of the Susquehanna Minquas or Conestoga Indians and three chiefs of the same, and with the king of the Shawanees and two chiefs of the same, and with the brother and agent of the emperor of the Onondagas of the Five Nations and certain chiefs of the Ganawese (Conoys) or Piscataways, then dwelling on the north bank of the Potomac; under this treaty the people of those tribes while living near Penn's government should have the privileges of his laws, they owning the authority of the Crown of England and of said government, and should not permit any strange Indians to settle on the western side of the Susquehanna or on the Potomac, nor any other Indians anywhere in the province without the Proprietary's consent, and no person should trade with these Indians without a license under the Proprietary's hand and seal, but the Potomac Indians could settle on any part of the Potomac river "within the bounds of this province." Moreover, the Conestoga Indians did ratify the sale which had been confirmed the year before by two of the Conestoga chiefs of lands about the Susquehanna, and guaranteed the good behavior of the Potomac Indians. In Evans's time the Ganawese, reduced in number by sickness, were allowed to remove to Tulpehocken, the Schuylkill Indians guaranteeing their good behavior. Penn submitted to the Assembly in August, 1701, a royal letter asking for £350 sterling as a contribution for erecting forts on the frontier of New York. The Assembly replied postponing the considera-

tion in view of the great sums of money lately assessed in taxes and the arrears of quit rents, and asking Penn to represent the present conditions to the King, and assure him of their willingness to acquiesce in his commands as far as their religious persuasions would permit. Seven members from the Lower Counties signed an address, hoping that they would not be required to contribute for forts abroad before they were able to build any at home, they not being able to furnish themselves with arms and ammunition, "having consumed our small stocks in making tobacco."

Penn was called to England by a proposition in Parliament to annex all proprietary governments to the Crown. Another Assembly excused itself from complying with the request for contribution to the New York forts. A subscription was started for his benefit, to be collected by Samuel Carpenter. On October 28, 1701, he signed the Charter of Privileges under which the government of Pennsylvania and Delaware was carried on until the Revolution. It began with a declaration that no inhabitant confessing and acknowledging "one Almighty God, the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the World," and professing himself obliged to live quietly under the civil government, should be molested or prejudiced because of conscientious persuasion or practice, nor compelled to do or suffer anything contrary to religious persuasion, and that all "'who also profess to believe in Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the World," should be capable to serve the government in any capacity, they solemnly promising, when required, allegiance to the King and fidelity to the Proprietor and Governor, and taking certain attests. An Assembly was to be chosen annually on the first day of October, consisting of four persons from each county, or more at any time, as the Governor and Assembly should agree, to meet at Philadelphia on the fourteenth of that month, unless the Governor and Council—only twice was there any mention of a council in the document—should appoint another place, and to make laws to

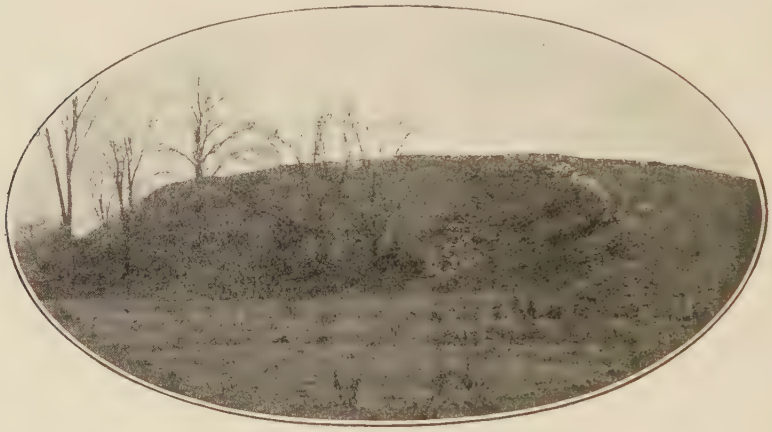
LAN 1749 DV REGNE DE LOVIS XV ROY DE
FRANCE NOVS CELORON COMMANDANT DVN DE
TACHEMENT ENVOIE PAR MONSIEVR LE M.IS DE LA
GALISSONIERE COMMANDANT GENERAL DE LA
NOVVELLE FRANCE POVR RETABLIR LA TRANQVILLITE
DANS QVELQVES VILLAGES SAUVAGES DE CES CANTONS
AVONS ENTERRÉ CETTE PLAQVE A LENTREE DE LA
RIVIERE CHINODAHICHETHA LE 18 AOUST
PRES DE LA RIVIERE ÔYO AUTREMENT BELLE
RIVIERE POVR MONVMENT DV RENOVVELLEMENT DE
POSSESSION QVE NOVS AVONS PRIS DE LA DITTE
RIVIERE OYO ET DE TOVTES CELLES QVI Y TOMBNT
ET DE TOVES LES TERRES DES DEVX COTES JVSQVE
AVX SOVRCES DES DITTES RIVIES VINSI QVE ONT
JOVY OV DV JOVIR LES PRECEDENTS ROYS DE FRANCE
ET QVILS SISONT MAINTENVS PAR LES ARMES ET
PAR LES TRAITTES SPECIALEMENT PAR CEVX DE
RISVVICK DVTRCHT ET DAIX LA CHPELLE

Copy of one of Celeron's Leaden Plates

Engraved especially for this work from a print in possession of Dr. W. J. Holland

be confirmed by the Governor and to have all the other powers of an assembly usual in any of the King's plantations in America. On such election day the freemen should choose two persons to nominate for sheriff and two for coroner in each county, and the Governor should commission one of them for three years. The county justices should nominate three persons for clerk of the peace, and the Governor should commission one of them during good behavior. No person should be obliged to answer any matter relating to property except in the ordinary courts of justice, unless appeals should be appointed to the Governor and Council. No person should be licensed by the Governor to keep a house of public entertainment except those recommended by the justices of the county in open court, the said justices being empowered to forbid any person upon misbehavior from keeping one. The estate of a suicide should descend as if he had died a natural death, and there should be no forfeiture to the Governor upon any accidental killing. No law should change or diminish the effect of the charter except by consent of the Governor and six-sevenths of the Assembly, but the clause for liberty of conscience should remain without alteration inviolable forever. A postscript provided that if within three years from date, by the declaration of a majority of the representatives of either the province or the territories on the Delaware, both should no longer be united in one Assembly, each county in the province should have at least eight representatives and the town of Philadelphia two in future. On the same day a new charter, dated October 25, was signed for the city of Philadelphia, making Edward Shippen mayor; and a commission of property was issued to Edward Shippen, Griffith Owen, Thomas Story, and James Logan. Moreover, the Proprietary issued a commission bearing the same date as the charter of privileges to a new Council of State, consisting of Edward Shippen, John Guest, Samuel Carpenter, William Clark, Thomas Story, Griffith Owen, Phineas Pemberton, Samuel Finney, Caleb Pusey, and John Blunston.

They were to consult and assist the Proprietary, if in the colony, and his deputy or Lieutenant-Governor, for the time being; and in case of the latter's decease or incapacity, to exercise all the powers, jurisdiction, and authority conferred upon Penn by the charter of King Charles. They were to hold office during the Proprietary's pleasure, and their number could be increased by



Washington's Hill

On this hill near Waterford, Washington camped while on his journey through the Allegheny Valley to investigate the French settlements in 1753. The French prevented his proceeding further. Photographed especially for this work by Hon. John P. Vincent

the Lieutenant-Governor, who could choose the President, otherwise the first named should take the chair. On October 30, Penn introduced to the Council the Lieutenant-Governor whom he had chosen, Andrew Hamilton, who held the postoffice for the colonies, and had been Governor of New Jersey. David Lloyd prepared a charter of property, which was taken down to New Castle as Penn was embarking, October 31, and after some argument signed by him, with an order for Governor Hamilton to keep it, and have the great seal affixed, if he did not hear to the

contrary within six months. In April, the vetoing notification came. Penn had sent after him 114 laws passed during his stay, to be submitted to the King for approval. It will be noticed that by the charter of Charles II the laws passed by the Proprietary and people could be made void by the King within six months after presentation to him if declared by the King in Council inconsistent with his sovereignty or lawful prerogative. As a matter of fact every law had to commend itself to those who had charge of trade and plantation affairs, and frequently half the work of a session of the Assembly had to be done over again to obviate the objections of those in London through whose hands it passed. The Proprietary was often blamed for the delay or failure in securing the allowance of an act. The laws which the first Proprietary had enacted during his second visit remained some time before the Attorney-General for want of a large fee. At last he reported them, and caused the rejection of a great many.

CHAPTER X.

PENN'S LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS

THE first Proprietary was designed never to return, and Pennsylvania became the estate of an absent landlord, and the bailiwick of a deputy. In the choice of the latter, the titular Governor was rarely, if ever, fortunate. After the term of Thomas Lloyd a Quaker was never chosen, possibly because it was necessary for the Crown to confirm the appointment, and that the appointee should qualify by oath, and participate in military affairs. To persons of distinction, like some of the contemporary heads of neighboring colonies, the office was not an attractive one. The salary, in early times necessarily small, was never sufficient to tempt any one high in the world. The dignity of being lieutenant under a family of commoners was almost invisible to those who would have accepted a governorship directly under the Crown. The power, dependent at first upon an Assembly tenacious of its rights, became, as King and Proprietary added to their regulations, so circumscribed as to chafe upon any man of spirit. On the other hand, the responsibility might have been capital in the days when there was any doubt of the legality of Quaker courts trying for murder, and when the province must have been surrendered on demand because of the non-resistance of the population; and afterwards, when penal bonds came to be exacted for compliance with the orders of superiors, the responsibility was financially heavy.

Hamilton served about eighteen months, until his death, April 26, 1703, when the Council, with Edward Shippen as President, took his place. Hamilton, making proclamation of the declaration of war, exhorted his hearers to enlist, and soon afterwards appointed as captain of the Philadelphia company, George Lowther, a lawyer, of a good Yorkshire family. The drums beat through the town, but Lowther found at the field only a few, and those inconsequential people. Before the second muster, which was the last, the idea got abroad that these recruits were to be marched to Canada, and the anti-Quakers concluded that for them to form a militia was a sure way of enabling the Quakers to retain the government, as the impossibility of having a militia had been the chief argument in favor of depriving them.

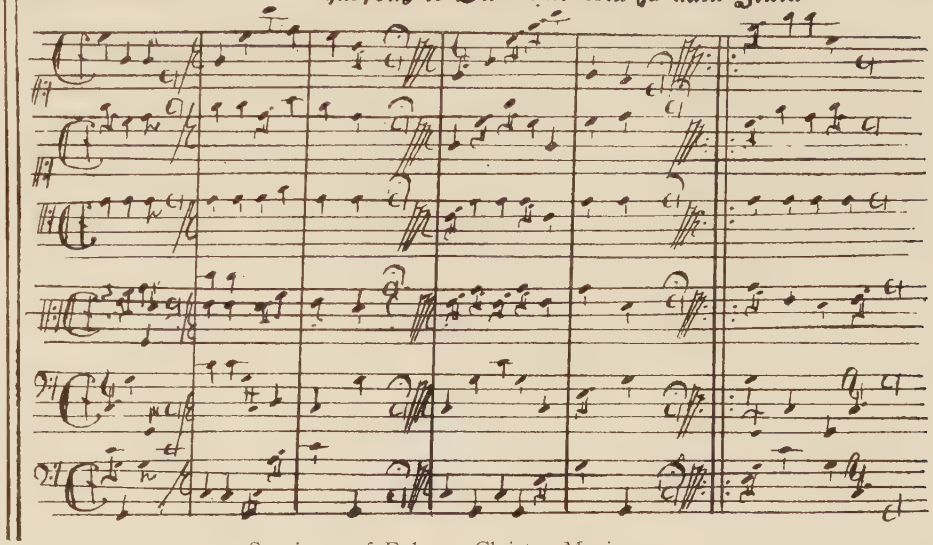
The royal confirmation of Hamilton's appointment did not arrive before he died. The jail of Philadelphia being full of alleged murderers and felons, he appointed a special commission to try them; but the jurymen, from doubts of the validity of his acts, would not serve in a matter of life and death. The regular Provincial Court opened a few days afterwards. The Quaker judges were in the majority, and notwithstanding the protest of the other judges, who left the bench, and with another prosecuting attorney in place of John Moore, the Attorney-General, who refused, proceeded without either oath or affirmation by judge, jury, or witnesses, but with only the attest required by the provincial law. One woman was found guilty of murded, and sentenced to be hung, but Hamilton's illness prevented his signing the death warrant. A man was convicted of manslaughter, and burnt in the hand. The inhabitants not of Quaker views were frightened, as they felt themselves at the mercy of witnesses not restrained by reverence for an oath. Quarry, it appears, did his best to spread, if he did not start their fears. Penn in England defended the Quakers' course; said it was not to be expected that founding a new country they should have no more rights than they left in England, and should be obliged to withdraw from juries. Mean-

while an order from the Queen was being carried to Pennsylvania, requiring all persons in judicial or other office to take the oath directed by the law of England or the affirmation allowed by it to Quakers, and all persons who were in England obliged and willing to take an oath to be admitted to do so by the officers or judges in Pennsylvania and the lower counties, in default whereof their proceedings should be null and void. Penn advised his people to disregard this, as conflicting with the laws established by virtue of King Charles's charter.

The inhabitants of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex, not being of the sects opposed to taking oaths or bearing arms, were restive under Quaker control; but it was really at the motion of the Pennsylvania assemblymen that, in 1702, a separation in the legislature took place, and was permanent. Quarry urged the Lords of Trade to have those counties placed directly under the Crown, which had never granted to Penn the government of them; and he said that the only title Penn had to such government was the old act of union, which the people had been cajoled into passing. In subsequent history, the Assembly of these "lower counties" generally followed the wishes of the acting governor. By accident, which Quarry tortured into a design, there was no mention of the lower counties in the commission to the Council.

Of the three Lieutenant-Governors next in order, the first was dissolute; the second, deranged; and the third, dishonest. One beat the watchman, but is chiefly remembered for getting up a false alarm to scare the Quakers, another for kicking the judges at New Castle, and the last, the one of noble lineage, for sending young and poor Ben Franklin to London on the false promise of letters of credit. The first Proprietary, immediately on hearing of Hamilton's death, nominated the son, twenty-six years of age, of an old friend, and there was no delay in receiving the royal approbation, or in entering the security. A clause was inserted in his commission making void all laws he should enact without the personal assent of the Proprietary. This proviso the Council

Gedencke, HERR, an David und sein Leyden, weil er dir selbst geschworen hat, daß er Dir dienen will zu allen Zeiten



Specimen of Ephrata Cloister Music, 1754

Engraved for this work from original in the collection of J. F. Sachse

unanimously declared illegal without annulling the commission. Lieutenant-Governor John Evans arrived 12 mo. 2, 1703-4, in company with the Proprietary's oldest son, William Penn, Jr. The representatives of the people were nettled by Evans's attempt, which was futile, to bring about a reunion of the province and lower counties in Assembly, and by his asking a reconsideration of the refusal of the Assembly of Pennsylvania to contribute to the New York forts; so there began with the first Assembly a quarrel which embraced the Proprietary, as the latter, who had not yet received the taxes and gifts for his benefit, desired the people to come to his relief by assuming the support of all branches of the government, and asked moreover for the payment of the 200*l.* which he owed for Hamilton's salary. The Assembly, of which David Lloyd was Speaker, adjourned for weeks at a time on account of the fair, the harvests, etc.; and in the intervals, when for a few days there was a sitting, excused itself again from contributing to the forts in New York, and instead of levying taxes, passed laws for securing and confirming the privileges of itself and the city corporation, and the rights of private individuals. One of these bills did not receive Evans's consent, because it included the right of the Assembly to sit upon its own adjournment, and he was advised that Penn had never given up the power of prorogation and dissolution. Evans by proclamation declared void the proceedings of the courts where the Queen's order as to oaths had not been complied with, and so vice went unpunished. He organized a militia, promising to those who enlisted exemption from the duty of watch and ward, which the corporation of Philadelphia imposed upon the citizens. When some of the militiamen declined to watch, the constables, under order of their superiors, reported the names to the mayor's court, and, probably to the satisfaction of the Quakers, soldiering without pay being a thankless task, very few appeared at the next muster. Then by advice of the Council, the Lieutenant-Governor by proclamation repeated the exemption. One evening hard

words were exchanged at a tavern between the militia officers and the watchmen, and the next night William Penn, Jr., was there when the watch came around, and assisted in beating off the custodians of the peace. The heir apparent was duly presented for the offense with his comrades; which he took in such high dudgeon that he soon went back to England, selling his manor, and so being able to face his creditors. Jenkins in his "Family of William Penn" points out that this was not the street brawl in which Evans was engaged, where the mayor, recorder, and Joseph Wilcox, an alderman, came to the assistance of the watchmen, and the Lieutenant-Governor, making himself known, was beaten by Wilcox more severely for having given such occasion for scandal. On this latter occasion Griffith Jones was mayor; on the former, Anthony Morris. He with his aldermen remonstrated that by the proclamation "many of the good people of the city were much discouraged." Evans replied: "Too many of those good people you mention are such as oppose a militia, not from any principle against it, but through an uneasiness to see anything done under the present administration that may recommend us and the Proprietor's affairs to the Crown." So the proclamation was not recalled. Just before the adjournment of the Assembly, a committee was appointed by it to address the Proprietary in plain terms. The result was the setting forth in a "most virulent, unmannerly invective," prepared by David Lloyd, of a number of complaints, beginning with clauses in the Governor's commission inconsistent with the charter and the negligence of Penn in procuring the royal assent to most necessary bills, and then proceeding to the injustice practiced by the surveyors, the office of Surveyor-General having been vacant since 1701, and the failure of the commissioners of property to give lands in exchange for those lost by adverse title. This was enclosed in a letter to Friends in England known to be enemies of Penn, asking them to oblige him to do justice, saying that the vilest of men were let into the judiciary, and speaking of "the

condition this poor province is brought to by the late revels and disorders which young William Penn and his gang of loose fellows he accompanies with are found in." The writing of such a letter caused some little reaction; but the contest was continued by the Assembly elected after the address was written. In speaking of Evans, William Biles, member from Bucks county, whom Logan calls "that pestiferous old man," announced, "He is but a

Franklin's device and motto published in the Pennsylvania Gazette at the time of the Albany Congress of the Colonies, 1754

boy: he is not fit to be our Governor. We'll kick him out. We'll kick him out." Whereupon the indignant officer sued Biles for slander, and demanded that the Assembly expel him. This it declined to do; and accordingly it was dismissed, June 23, 1705. Owen, Pusey, and Hill of the Council prepared a letter to the Proprietary, declaring their abhorrence of Lloyd's paper, and assuring him of their readiness to support all the charge of government. It was signed by the great mass of the Friends, now stirred up in favor of their comrade and patron; and it was made effectual by an energetic political canvass, resulting in the choice

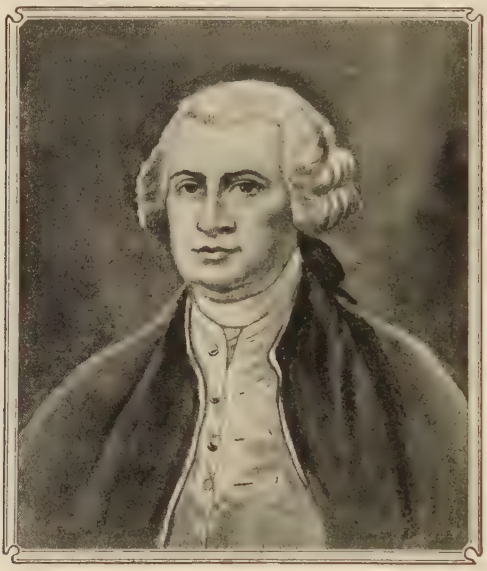
of members of Assembly well affected towards the Proprietary, among them being Shippen, Carpenter, Pusey, and Hill of the Council. There was only one member not a Quaker. An act for the collection of quit-rents secured to Penn that source of income, and the appropriation of 800*l.* out of a 2½*d.* per *l.* tax and about 600*l.* from an impost on liquors settled the trouble about the Lieutenant-Governor's salary and the other public charges. A number of the laws rejected by the Queen were re-enacted, duly modified. The Pennsylvania method now used of suing out a mortgage was then put in the statute books.

There never was in Pennsylvania, during the colonial period, to our knowledge, any molestation or interruption of the liberty of Jews, Deists, or Unitarians, the first named, in fact, becoming well represented in Philadelphia, and at an early date, David Franks and others of them being taken into its fashionable circle; therefore it is interesting chiefly as an evidence how generally the Quakers in 1705 accepted Athanasian orthodoxy that, while the frame of government of 1701, as we have seen, guaranteed liberty of conscience to all who confessed and acknowledged "one Almighty God, the Creator, Upholder, and Ruler of the World," and made eligible for office all who believed in "Jesus Christ the Saviour of the World," the act concerning liberty of conscience passed by this Assembly having only one non-Quaker member, established as the religion of the land Christianity and belief in the Bible, by these words: "Almighty God being only Lord of conscience, author of all divine knowledge, faith, and worship, who can only enlighten the minds, and convince the understanding of people; in due reverence to His sovereignty over the souls of mankind; and the better to unite the Queen's Christian subjects in interest and affection, Be it enacted that no person now or at any time hereafter dwelling or residing within this Province who shall profess faith in God the Father and in Jesus Christ his only Son and in the Holy Spirit, one God blessed for evermore, and shall acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New

Testament to be given by Divine inspiration, and when lawfully required shall profess and declare that they will live peaceably under the civil government, shall in any case be molested or prejudiced for his or her conscientious persuasion, nor shall he or she be at any time compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship-place or ministry whatsoever contrary to his or her mind, but shall freely and fully enjoy his or her Christian liberty in all respects, without molestation or interruption." To anticipate, in Sir William Keith's time, Rev. Richard Welton, D. D., having come to Christ Church, Philadelphia, after receiving consecration as a bishop privately through the Scotch non-jurors, was threatened with molestation chiefly for political reasons; when he prayed for the King without naming George, so as to leave it open whether the Stuart was not the lawful sovereign, Keith shut up Christ Church, and Welton, summoned to England, went to Portugal, and died in Lisbon. When in Patrick Gordon's time, a Roman Catholic chapel was erected, that Lieutenant-Governor thought that the laws of Parliament required him to suppress it, but, there being no desire to do this, it was postponed pending a decision by the British government as to whether the immunity granted by Pennsylvania law did not protect the religious followers of the Pope. During the French war, official suspicion and popular feeling were strong against those who had the same religion as France, and after Braddock's defeat, a mob attacked the Roman Catholics in Philadelphia, but Quakers protected them.

Obtaining a verdict for 300*l.* against Biles, whom the Yearly Meeting also condemned for such language, Evans was appealed to by the Assembly to forgive him, and promised the committee to notify them if he had cause to do anything further; but Biles, coming to town on this assurance, the Lieutenant-Governor, after shaking hands with him, had him arrested, and notified the committee afterwards. The old man lay a month in jail, receiving every attention from "our good women," as Logan calls them; then Evans, finding no money was to be obtained, released Biles.

Evans forged a letter from the Governor of Maryland announcing that privateers were off the Virginia capes, and some days afterward arranged that John French of New Castle should come up to Philadelphia in great haste and apparent alarm to



James Hamilton

Member Provincial Assembly, 1734; mayor of Philadelphia, 1745; member Provincial Council, 1746; lieutenant-governor, 1748-1754, and again 1759-1763; president of the Council in 1771; also acting governor about two months in 1773

frighten the citizens with a tale that Lewes had been burnt and six French brigantines had bombarded the fort at New Castle, and were making up the river, it being hoped that sufficient Quakers would lose their presence of mind and respond to a call to arms to make apparent forever the inconsistency of the members of the Society of Friends. French fulfilled his part, and Evans spread the report, summoning those who would defend themselves. Some

persons tried to send their goods out of town, and were actually fired upon by the militia. Half a dozen young Quakers shouldered their guns; but it being a Meeting day, the Meeting was held as usual, and the Quakers generally trusted in the Lord. Logan took a row boat down the river where he learned the truth, and, returning, quieted the people. Evans soon afterwards decided to call a special session of the Assembly, the councillors who were not Quakers declaring that he should throw upon it the responsibility for not defending the province. The Quaker councillors, themselves members of the House, expostulated; as those of their persuasion could only send a negative answer, there would be no other result than to injure them: they believed it a preliminary step to deprive the people of the constitution. The Assembly, of course, did not take any belligerent measures; the reply said, "We hope we are not in much danger, considering our remoteness from the sea and difficulty of access. * * * the Queen's colonies of Virginia and Maryland, which are far more ancient settlements than ours, have no fortifications we know of this day; therefore we hope that nothing shall prevail to render us more obnoxious to the Queen than our neighbors." Evans found the Assembly of the lower counties more to his mind. He permitted fines to be imposed upon those residing there who had scruples against military service, but were in the minority; which course was naturally resented by the majority in Pennsylvania. There was a fort at New Castle, and Evans consented to a law that every vessel going down the river should pay powder-money. The Quaker traders declared they would not comply, and gave orders to that effect to the masters of their vessels. In the spring of 1707 a sloop bound for Barbados was about to sail when the Lieutenant-Governor told the master that if he did not stop at New Castle, the vessel should be fired upon, and he made prisoner. The master reported this to Hill, the principal owner, who indignantly remonstrated with the Governor—a Lieutenant-Governor was popularly called "Governor"—and then went aboard the vessel, and

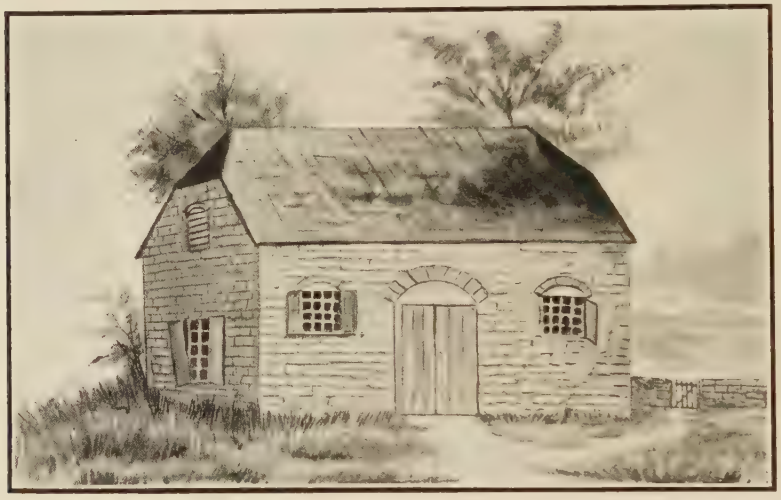
in it proceeded down the river. The Governor had hurried to New Castle on horseback, and set a watch in the fort for the sloop. When the vessel came within range, the fort opened fire, but the sloop escaped uninjured, and, hotly pursued by boats, in one of which was the Governor, put over to Salem, New Jersey, carrying along John French, who had boarded it. There Hill placed himself under the protection of the Queen's flag; and Lord Cornbury, Governor of the Jerseys, arriving, and resenting the invasion of his jurisdiction as Admiral over Delaware bay and river, insisted upon the sloop being allowed to proceed on its voyage. This signal bravery of Richard Hill, who dared to stand fire, although he could not conscientiously return it, brought to the Quakers freedom from the imposition of which they complained. By not mentioning the Proprietary's design of selling the government, Logan had added to the ill will felt for him as the Proprietary's steward, and in the long course of contention on a bill to establish courts, when Logan advised that courts be re-established by Evans under the right granted to Penn by charter, the House declared Logan an enemy of the Governor and government and on February 26, 1706-7, presented articles of impeachment against him, which the Lieutenant-Governor decided he could not try.

After the death of Philip Ford, his widow and three children claimed the province and territories under the old deed to him, maintaining that since April 1, 1700, Penn had been only tenant at will, and they brought suit for £2,000 arrears of rent, filed a bill in chancery, and petitioned the Queen to put them in possession and take to herself the government. Penn offered the payment of one-half with security for the other half of what should be found on adjusting accounts, and proposed a reference to members of the Society of Friends mutually chosen. This being refused he appealed to the Meeting which the family attended, which on 10 mo. 26, 1705, admonished and disowned them. Isaac Norris went to England the next year, and labored for a compromise, while attempts were made to raise money for Penn, who wrote

that if friends in Pennsylvania would give £5,000, he would come and live among them. William Penn Jr., agreeing to have the estate at Worminghurst sold, it brought enough to clear all debts but that to the Fords; and the son was reconciled to his father, who, looking for a new Lieutenant-Governor, thought of appointing him, but Norris advised against it. A verdict was obtained against William Penn for the rent, etc., £3,000, which his friends insisted that he should not pay, as certain members of the Society had, on examination, reported that the Fords were entitled only to £4,303 instead of £14,000. On 11 mo. 7, bailiffs came for him at Meeting, but Henry Gouldney and Herbert Springett induced them not to take him out of the gallery by promising that he would come in a few hours, which he did, and then turned himself over to the Fleet. The Lord Chancellor, to whom the Queen referred the petition, said that Penn had an equity of redemption in the land, and that his powers of government were not pledged. Finally a compromise was effected. The Fords accepted £7,600, and executed a release, Penn leaving the Old Bailey. Henry Gouldney and seven other Englishmen, among them Penn's father-in-law Callowhill, furnished £6,600 of the money, and to them Penn and his heir apparent executed a mortgage dated Oct. 7, 1708, of Pennsylvania and the lower counties, and all purchase money due and quit rents in arrears or to fall due, Pennsbury and some tracts being excepted, and with power in the mortgagees to sell land if the principal were not repaid in two years with 6 per cent. interest, meanwhile Penn and his son to have power to convey clear.

Charles Gookin, a respectable army officer, assumed the duties of Lieutenant-Governor on February 2, 1708-9, instructed by Penn not to pass any laws without the approbation of the Council. The Assembly urged him to disregard this, as he was acting in place of William Penn, who with the Assembly had all the powers of legislation, and it furthermore blamed Logan for most of the disagreement between the Lieutenant-Governors and the people, and more

than once remonstrated against Logan's continuance in the Council. Logan replied in an exposure of Lloyd. Upon receipt of an order from the Queen for the province to furnish 150 men as part of a force of 1,500 against Canada, and for which Gookin asked 4,000*l.*, the Assembly refused to pay "money to hire men to fight and kill one another," but out of gratitude to the Queen



Old Shawanee Church

Site of Fort Dupui, about five and one-half miles from Stroudsburg, on the Delaware river. The fort was probably built earlier than 1755. From a sketch made especially for this work

voted to her 500*l.* and appropriated 300*l.* for all necessary expresses and other public charges. In October, 1709, Hill was chosen mayor of the city, and the influence of the corporation was turned in favor of the Proprietary. As to Logan's charges against Lloyd, an investigating committee reported to the Assembly that Logan had refused to bring proof. He was then preparing to embark for England, but on the 25th of November, the House ordered the sheriff of Philadelphia county to attach his body, and detain him

in the county jail until he should make satisfaction for his reflections on sundry members. The sheriff refused to obey, but it was feared that some of the members themselves would make the arrest; so the Governor was obliged to interpose his protection, and Logan sailed a few days afterwards. The next election sent an entirely new set of men to the Assembly. It voted 2,000*l.* to the Queen's use. Hill was Speaker during the session and the next, as also in 1716, and was in the Assembly continuously until 1721. We must recognize him as a political leader who did most to preserve Quaker and Proprietary ascendency in his day. During his last term as mayor and Speaker, Lieutenant-Governor Gookin charged him with disaffection to King George, and said the only occasion of difference between them was that Gookin would not agree to Hill's project of proclaiming the Pretender. The Assembly went into committee of the whole on this charge, and communicated with the Lieutenant-Governor, and held several meetings; but Gookin, whose conduct on many occasions betokened a disordered mind, replied that he was not obliged to render to the House any reasons for his accusation, but would do so to the Board at home. He said he believed in his conscience that the Speaker was in favor of the Pretender; but further than this gave the members no satisfaction. The House accordingly declared the charges without foundation, adding that the Lieutenant-Governor, having approved of Hill to be Speaker, should in justice to the Assembly give grounds for the charge, or clear him of the imputation. After William Keith became Lieutenant-Governor, Gookin was again asked for his reasons, the new official being unwilling to have any one in his Council who was believed disloyal, but nothing further was elicited. Logan, too, was included in the charge, the investigation, and the acquittal. His real sentiments were expressed in a letter to Hannah Penn, urging that Gookin be removed and his place filled by Colonel Keith, who, he says, might labor under the suspicion of being a Jacobite, and so fail to be commissioned: "But as these distinctions cannot affect us, who want

nothing but peace under the Crown of England, and have no power either to advance or retard any interest, all our views, or rather wishes, are to have a person over us who may truly pursue the interest of the country."

William Penn finally in 1712 came to an agreement with the Crown for the sale to it of his rights of government for £12,000, of which £1,000 were paid to him on account.

Keith was not closely, if at all, related to the ex-Quaker George Keith, but was the son of a Scotch baronet, and succeeded to that rank, but to no estate, while Lieutenant-Governor. This administration began May 31, 1717, and lasted nine years.

On May 31, 1718, while the enlightened legislator William Penn was still alive, but having been for about six years mentally unfit for business, although occasionally signing his name, the Assembly passed "an act for the advancement of justice and more certain administration thereof," extending the severity of certain acts of Parliament to the colony; for instance, any person committing a robbery by assaulting another on or near the highway, putting him in fear, and taking from his person money or other goods to any value whatsoever, and even the counsellors, aiders, comforters, and abettors of such robber, should suffer as felons according to the statutes in such cases provided in Great Britain; any person cutting off or disabling a limb or member, or counselling, aiding, or abetting such act, should suffer death; any person breaking into a dwelling house at night to commit a felony should suffer death; any person burning a barn or an out-house having corn or hay therein should suffer death. The act, being approved by the King in Council, confirmed finally the right of judges, jurymen, and witnesses to qualify themselves according to their conscientious persuasion respectively by taking either a corporal oath or the affirmation allowed by act of Parliament for Quakers.

At this time, the white population of Penn's dominion was, it is estimated, about 40,000, one-fourth of whom lived in Philadelphia. About one-half belonged to the Society of Friends.

CHAPTER XI.

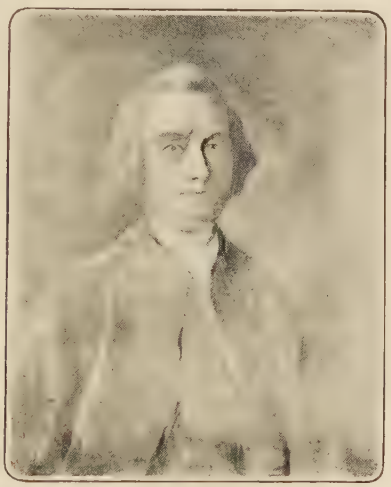
THE CLAIM OF THE HEIR-AT-LAW

UPON the death of William Penn, July 30, 1718, various legal questions arose as to the governorship. His will, dated in 1712, had devised it to two noblemen in trust to sell to the Crown or other person; and his own agreement for its sale to the Crown was still undisposed of. Subject to these arrangements, and except so far as required for these purposes, to whom did the powers of government go? All lands, tenements and hereditaments in America, after sale of sufficient to pay debts, and with the exception of 40,000 acres, were to be conveyed by certain trustees, Hannah Penn, Thomas Callowhill, Margaret Lowther, Gilbert Heathcote, Samuel Waldenfield, John Field, Henry Gouldney, Samuel Carpenter, Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, Samuel Preston, and James Logan, to the children of his second wife in such shares and for such estates as she should appoint. She, in November, 1718, reserving a power to revoke and alter, appointed one-half in fee to her son John Penn, he paying £1,500 to his sister Margaret, and the other half in fee jointly to the younger sons, Thomas, Richard, and Dennis. The heir-at-law, however, was William Penn Jr. child of the first wife, and provided for by the estate in Ireland, but now raising the question, could the governorship, being of the nature of an hereditary title and jurisdiction be assigned or devised away from the heir-at-law? William Penn Jr. therefore issued a new commission to Keith, which arrived in April, 1719, and which Keith and the Council were will-

ing to publish, but the Assembly thought this unnecessary, as a law of the province authorized the Lieutenant-Governor to hold over. The Crown sent an order to Keith to continue until the Proprietor and the trustees should adjust their differences.

The muse of history has not taken the heir-at-law under her protection, certainly not the muse recognized by the Quakers. The son of a great father often figures as the latter's antithesis. William Penn Jr. may not have been great; he is to be classified among the unfortunates, rather than the unworthy. About the time he came of age, his father's circumstances required the first wife's children to consent to the sale of property which came to them from her. The conduct in Pennsylvania which enabled the father's enemies to speak of "the disorders of young William Penn" and his "gang of loose fellows" is not proved by such strong language to have included any moral delinquencies. He had kept "top company," that is, associated with his equals in worldly rank, before he came, and he unsuccessfully ran for Parliament after he went back to England. The following words in the instructions which he sent with his commission do not sound like those of an irreligious, dissolute, or narrow minded lordling: "If you can procure a militia to be settled by law, slip not the occasion of doing it, but as that country was chiefly at first settled by Quakers I would not have them oppressed on any account. Protect the people under your care in all the rights, privileges, and liberties my father granted them by charter or otherwise or that they ought to enjoy as Englishmen. Observe the law for liberty of conscience, which I take to be a fundamental one in Pennsylvania, and was one great encouragement for the Quakers to transport themselves thither, and to make it what it now is, for which they merit the favor of my family as well as on many other accounts, and shall always have it when in my power; and this I desire you will let the people know. But as I profess myself to be a member of the Church of England, therefore I recommend it to you to be careful of her interest, and that you encourage and

protect the clergy and employ where you can deserving members of that communion, for I think they ought to have at least an equal share in the administration of public offices with their neighbors of other persuasions. Discountenance all Anti-Trinitarians and libertines. Protect in their possessions such strangers as are



Richard Penn

Proprietary and titular governor of Pennsylvania and the counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex, on the Delaware river; born 1706; died 1771. From an old painting

settled amongst us, for the public faith is concerned in it." His career was cut short by death at the age of thirty-nine from consumption. He left three children, Springett, William, and a daughter. It was the claim of Hannah Penn, the first Proprietary's widow and executrix of his will, that the right to the government should be deemed legally converted into cash and therefore personal estate, of which after payment of the debts she was legatee for her and her children's benefit.

In the fall of 1718, Sassoonan, king of the Delaware Indians, with a number of his followers, came to Philadelphia with the idea that they had not been paid for their lands, but Logan produced to them in the presence of the Council, a great number of deeds by which they were convinced; accordingly, Sassoonan and six chiefs executed a release, dated September 17, all but two making their marks before Lieutenant-Governor Keith, and afterwards the two making theirs before Logan. Acknowledging that their ancestors and predecessors had conveyed to William Penn in fee all the land, and had received the price, and in further consideration of a free gift of two guns, etc., from his commissioners, these Indians released all the land between the Delaware and the Susquehanna from Duck creek (in Delaware) to the mountains (the South mountain) on this side of Lechay (by the Lehigh river).

Much trouble arising between the northern and southern Indians, involving, moreover, injuries to the traders among them, the authorities of Pennsylvania endeavored to restrain the four tribes between the colony and the Alleghanies, viz.: the Susquehannas, Shawanees, Conoys, and Delawares, and made the hard request of them not to go to war on the first or second provocation of their people being killed, but only after the third provocation; and, moreover, told them not to receive the Five Nations, whose habitations were north and west of the Alleghanies, if coming to them on the way to or from war; and then expatiated upon how shameful a thing it was to torture prisoners—that it was not manly for people to use all their contrivance of torture and pain to put an unfortunate creature of their own shape and kind to death, whereas, if the English in a just (!) war killed their enemies, it was like men in the battle, and, if they took prisoners, they treated them kindly, until the King gave orders to send them back to their own country; they did not burn, pinch, or slash a poor man who could not defend himself, and the Indians must stop doing so. The Five Nations, however, generally forced the

young bucks to accompany them on their raids, and some of the Cayugas asserted that all the land on the Susquehanna belonged to them and intimated that they might come to Philadelphia and demand possession. To meet deputies of the Five Nations, Keith went to Conestoga in the summer of 1721, and in their presence informed their tributaries, the Indians east of the Alleghanies, of the condition he had made for the latter with the Governor of Virginia, viz.: not to hunt on the eastern side of those mountains south of the Potomac; upon which terms the Governor of Virginia had agreed that his Indians should not cross the Potomac or the Alleghanies. Keith told the deputies of the Five Nations, whose speaker was Ghesaont, a Seneca, that the English had now, by peace among themselves, become a great nation in America, far exceeding in number the Indians, who were continuing to make war upon one another, as if they intended that none of their race should be left alive; if the Five Nations would still go out to destroy and be destroyed for nothing, let them take another path; the Indians of Pennsylvania would not be allowed to go out. Then he gave Ghesaont a gold coronation medal of George I, to take as a token of friendship to the greatest chief of the Five Nations, Kannygoodk. To James Logan, who continued the conference after Keith left, Ghesaont acknowledged the Susquehanna country to have been conveyed to William Penn. Owing to the kiling of a Seneca, who, when drunk and applying for rum, was knocked down, there were sent calico shirts, silk stockings, silk garters, and silk handkerchiefs to the sachems of the Five Nations, and Keith, with four of his councillors, went to Albany, and made a treaty of peace, in September, 1722, the Five Nations acknowledging that Penn's Governors and people had always honestly kept his treaties of love and kindness, and finally asking that those concerned in the death of the Seneca be set at liberty, and, moreover, surrendering the lands about Conestoga, desiring them to be settled by Christians. At the same time, Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, made a treaty, and secured the assent of the

Five Nations and the Tuscaroras to the proposed boundary within which the Virginia Indians should be safe. Any of the Five Nations, or any Tuscarora, Conestoga, Shawanee, Octatiguanann-kroon, or Ostagle passing without a passport from the Governor of his province southward of the Potomac, *i. e.,* its southern branch, or eastward of the mountains, should be put to death or transported into slavery.

During Keith's administration the Scotch-Irish and the Germans began to pour into Pennsylvania. The former, whose history is given in Hanna's work on the subject, first settled in the southern part of what was then Chester county, which the boundary dispute made no man's land, and which was so near the port of New Castle; then they advanced to the regions marked by the oldest Presbyterian churches south of the Schuylkill. The first company of Germans were invited by Keith to come from Æsopus, in New York State, and establish themselves at Tulpehocken. In Gordon's time others, including Conrad Weiser, made the same migration.

In the difficult position of choosing between two masters, viz.: the Proprietary, represented chiefly by Logan, and the people, represented by the Assembly, Keith determined to serve the latter, the power which voted the money for his support; therefore he was better paid than his predecessors, and succeeded, where they had failed, in establishing a Court of Chancery, held by the Lieutenant-Governor and the six senior councillors. This was the only separate court of chancery which Pennsylvania has ever had. Two important laws enacted by him survive, that of the party wall and that of the *feme sole* trader. The rate of interest on money was reduced from 8 to 6 per cent. In 1723 the first paper money was issued in Pennsylvania, and purely as an expansion of the currency demanded by the populace in the face of the few rich men. The method of emission was a novel one, often subsequently resorted to. The bills, made legal tender, were issued to applicants as a loan upon mortgage of their real estate, to be repaid in annual

instalments, with 5 per cent. interest. Certain persons appointed in the act passed by the Assembly, and styled Commissioners of the Loan Office, attended to this, lending not more than 200*l.*, nor less than 20*l.* The interest was applicable to the expenses of government. Although the experience of other colonies with paper money had been unhappy, the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, out of consideration for those holding the bills, al-

Relics from Dunbar's Camp, 1775

Engraved for this work from the originals in Carnegie Museum, Pittsburgh

lowed the act and one subsequently passed for issuing 30,000*l.* to remain unrepealed by the King. When Sir William Keith's administration closed the colony was in a flourishing condition, and the discount on the bills diminishing. For twenty years afterwards the expenses of government required no direct tax, the interest on the mortgages and an excise being sufficient.

Charging Logan with an unauthorized entry upon his minutes as secretary of the Council, Keith removed Logan from that office. Logan was mayor of Philadelphia in 1723, and at the close of his term, went abroad to consult with Hannah Penn, and, suggesting to tie Keith's hands rather than remove him, obtained instructions from her to Keith to reinstate Logan as secretary,

and, as has been said, "to be ruled by him." The Lieutenant-Governor was to obey the Council in his messages and speeches to the Assembly and in his legislative acts. Highly indignant, and feeling safe in his tenure of office—because, at that time, no branch of the family could confer on a new Lieutenant-Governor an undisputed commission—Keith refused to be trammelled. He sent Hannah Penn a reply, reminding her how the Council, in Evans's time, had unanimously decided that a clause in the Lieutenant-Governor's commission, forbidding him to pass any law without the consent of the Proprietary, was void, the charter vesting legislation in the acting Governor and Assembly; if, therefore, the Proprietary could not exercise control directly, he could not do so by means of a Council not recognized by the fundamental law. Keith also contended that he had a right to appoint a clerk of his Council in whom he had confidence, and he declined to reappoint Logan. More than this, Keith, to make a party for himself, violated his confidential relations with the Penns by communicating to the Assembly both the instructions and his reasons for disregarding them. He received the thanks of the House, David Lloyd appearing as his strong supporter; and there followed a pamphlet, or broadside, war concerning the Assembly's powers; meanwhile, the Penns abroad resolved upon Keith's removal. For a time, Keith seemed able to have wrested the government from them; but as rumors reached the colony of the appointment of a successor, the Assembly deserted him.

William Penn Jr. having died in 1720, his heir was his son, Springett Penn.

Patrick Gordon, major in the army, then in the 62d year of his age, arrived in June, 1726, with a commission from Springett Penn, in which Hannah Penn concurred, and which the Crown confirmed. Pursuant to instructions, Gordon in a few days restored Logan to the secretaryship. Keith, who had a country seat in Horsham township (now in Montgomery county), then in Philadelphia county, which was afterwards known as Græme

Park, was chosen a member of the Assembly that fall, and canvassed for the speakership, but David Lloyd allowed himself to be the candidate of Keith's enemies, and was elected, Sir William getting only three votes. Sir William was reëlected to the Assembly in 1727, but before his term was out, after much talk about the abolition of all proprietary governments, and boldly declaring it his object to force the Penn family to sell the government to the Crown, whence he expected to be reappointed, he suddenly left the colony to avoid his private creditors. He passed the rest of his life in Great Britain, some of it in the debtor's prison, wrote many essays, and suggested the imposition on Americans of stamp duties by act of parliament, to provide a military force for the defense of the colonies. As a means of livelihood, he designed writing a history of the various colonies, but published one of Virginia only. He died in the Old Bailey in 1749. His wife, in considerable want, died in Philadelphia in 1741, and was buried in Christ Church yard.

At the accession of Gordon, who served until his death, there was a flourishing iron industry, great quantities of hemp were grown, and silk was raised "as fine and good," he was credibly informed, "as most of the world affords." To that means of employing "even the mean and weak" he urged the representatives of the people, about three years later, when, from competition by the cheaper labor of Russia, the English market for American iron was impaired. In 1729 the exchange between the paper money of the province and sterling was about 50 per cent. The Assembly, in addressing the Proprietaries, agreed unanimously to declare that as the quit rents were to be paid in English money or the value thereof in coin current, it must always be understood that an English shilling, the common quit rent for 100 acres, could only be discharged by such a shilling or its real value in the coin then passing. Under this straightforward and respectable official, politics became tranquil. He agreed to more than one act to issue paper money, some of which was applied to the building of the

State House in Philadelphia, finished about 1734, largely under the direction of Andrew Hamilton, member and long Speaker of the Assembly and Attorney-General. Hamilton's design was adopted in preference to that of Dr. John Kearsley, who was instrumental in the building of Christ Church, started some years before. Hamilton, who is not known to have been a relation or connection, but only a friend, of the former Lieutenant-Governor of the same name, was the great lawyer of the province at this time, and was long celebrated for his defense of the liberty of the press in the person of the printer Zenger, tried for libel in New York in 1735. Gordon also agreed to an act for the purpose, long contended for, of enabling religious societies of Protestants to purchase land for burying grounds, churches, houses of worship, schools, etc., which confirmed the trusts for such religious societies as should, on June 1, 1730, have been in possession for twenty-one years. At his suggestion Ferdinand John Paris was appointed the province's agent in London, chiefly for securing the King's allowance of the laws.

About 1729 a large number of the Shawanees left their settlement on the west side of the Susquehanna, near Paxtang, or Paxton, and moved to the Allegheny, then called the Ohio, where they had more room to rove, but where, unhappily, they were accessible to the French.

Lancaster county was set apart from Chester in 1729, and permitted to elect four members of the Assembly. Richard Hill died in 1730, and David Lloyd, after being Chief Justice a number of years, in 1731. For some years afterwards there was no lawyer on the supreme bench. Isaac Norris declining the chief justiceship, Logan held it from Lloyd's death until 1739, although between Lieutenant-Governor Gordon's death and Lieutenant-Governor Thomas's arrival, the second and third justices, Jeremiah Langhorne and Dr. Thomas Græme, held the sessions.

In Gordon's time the Penn family adjusted the differences between the branches. Young Dennis Penn having died at the

close of 1722, Hannah Penn made another deed of appointment January 7, 1725, giving 500 acres, in addition to some charges on John's share, to her daughter Margaret, and one-half of the proprietary rights to John in fee, and the other half to Thomas and Richard jointly in fee. The widow of the first Proprietary died on December 20 following the commissioning of Gordon. In July of the next year a decree was obtained in the Court of Exchequer confirming William Penn's will. The mortgage of 1708 was gradually paid off; by April, 1724, only one-fourth remained due; on January 14, 1729, it was finally released, as paid in full. Springett Penn died February 8, 1731, leaving as his heir his brother William, the ancestor of the Penn-Gaskell and Hall families now (1903) extant. This William, with his mother and sister and aunt, uniting the entire claim of the descendants of the first Proprietary by his first wife, granted and released in fee the soil, except particular properties, and the government to John Penn, Thomas Penn, and Richard Penn, John taking one-half, according to his mother's appointment, Thomas taking one-fourth, and John and Thomas taking Richard's one-fourth in trust for him. The release was dated September 23, 1731, and the consideration to William was £5,500, and Earl Powlett, surviving trustee to sell the government, was directed to convey his legal title to the new Proprietaries. The cloud on the title was removed by a deed of the earl's son and successor in 1743.

CHAPTER XII.

THE TIME OF JOHN PENN "THE AMERICAN"

JOHN PENN, the eldest son of the founder of Pennsylvania by his second wife, Hannah Callowhill, has been called "the American," because he alone of all the Penn family, except possibly some child of his nephew Richard, was born in the New World. He was born in the "slate-roof house" in Second street (covered by the present Corn Exchange), Philadelphia, on Jan. 29, 1699-1700. For fifteen years, counting from the release executed by his step-nephew, he was recognized as the head of the Governors-in-chief of Pennsylvania, being older than his colleagues, Thomas and Richard, and having twice as much interest as either of them in the property. Before the more active brother, Thomas Penn, made his visit to Pennsylvania, an agreement was entered into by the three Proprietaries to preserve the estate to their heirs male. They covenanted, by articles dated May 8, 1732, that on the death of any one of them leaving male issue under age, the survivors could sell land during the minority, and that none of the three would dispose of his share, except to create charges upon it, otherwise than to his eldest son in tail male, with remainder to his other sons successively in order of birth in tail male, and if any of the three should die without male issue, his estate, subject to charges, should go to the survivors, as he might appoint. At this time only Richard was married, his wife being Hannah, daughter of John Lardner, a physician; and only one son had yet appeared to gratify the desire for establishing a family. In less than fifty

years the lordship over Pennsylvania was gone; and the name died out with the last breath of a lunatic clergyman in 1869.

Thomas Penn arrived at Chester, Pa., on August 11, 1732, and the next day Gordon and all his councillors who could stand the trip, and a large number of gentlemen, went down to meet him. After dinner they escorted him to Philadelphia, the members of the city corporation meeting him with a congratulatory speech by the recorder. Thomas Penn brought from England six japanned and gilt guns for the respective chiefs of the Six Nations, presenting them at a treaty held in the month he arrived, when the Six Nations were asked to take the Shawanees under their protection, and induce them to return from the Ohio. He gave another gun to the Shawanee chief, who came to renew friendship in October, but announced that those on the Ohio would stay where they were. Thomas Penn took precedence at the council board over the Lieutenant-Governor, but left the administration of the government to the latter, concerning himself chiefly with the care of property, including Indian affairs. In the course of time he established himself in a manor house on what was left of the old manor of Springettsbury in the Northern Liberties of Philadelphia. In 1734 John Penn came to the country of his birth, but remained only a year, and the Assembly made him an address, September 20, 1735, in anticipation of his departure, saying: "That humility, justice, and benevolence which has appeared in thy conduct since thy arrival here has very deservedly gained thee the esteem and affection of the people."

Pennsylvania began to be the field for missionary labors like Whitefield's, and the scene of various religious movements like that of the New Side among Presbyterians, etc. The Schwenkfelders arrived in Philadelphia from Bethelsdorf and Goerlitz in the fall of 1734, settling in Bucks and Philadelphia counties. With them was the first Moravian evangelist who came to America, George Böhnisch, sent by Count Ludwig Zinzendorf, who himself, after several colonists belonging to that Unitas had arrived, spent a

short time here in 1742 and 1743. The settlement of Bethlehem was begun in 1742.

During Gordon's time only two cases, and those by consent of the parties, had been brought to a decree before the Court of Chancery, but in 1735 the people, at the instigation it was said of Hamilton, were stirred up against it, as requiring heavy fees and attendance of persons in Philadelphia, and as making the Proprietaries' deputy and friends in the Council possible judges of cases in which the Proprietaries might be a party; whereas the charter of 1701 had stipulated that no person should be obliged to answer in any matter relating to property before the Governor and Council, or in any other place but in the ordinary courts of justice, unless appeals thereunto should be appointed by law. So the Assembly, during that winter, resolved that the court as then constituted was contrary to the charter. During an adjournment, leaving a bill for a court of equity undisposed of, Patrick Gordon died, August 5, 1736, and was buried the next day in Christ Church, near his wife, who had died less than two years before.

The Council succeeded to the Lieutenant-Governor's powers, except those of legislation, Logan, on account of his lameness and residence out of town at Stenton (Twenty-second Ward, Philadelphia), offering to decline his share as eldest councillor if the other members should think of some one of themselves more proper, but they requested that he would act as President. In October, 1736, a larger number of Indians than had ever before appeared at a treaty—Senecas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Oneidas, and Tuscaroras—after being entertained three nights at Stenton, held a treaty in the great meeting house at Fifth and Arch streets, with Thomas Penn and the Council, and reported that they had made alliance with six other nations, who now acknowledged them as elder brothers. Then a sale was made to the Proprietaries of all right to the land embraced in the present counties of York, Adams, and Cumberland, and in that part of Franklin, Dauphin, and Lebanon southeast of the Kittatinny, or Blue, Mountains, and in that

part of Berks, Lehigh, and Northampton not already possessed. The goods which served as a consideration for so much of the purchase as lay east of the Susquehanna were delivered at the time, but those for the land on the other side of the river were retained at the Indians' desire, and were finally delivered in 1742. This purchase as to the lands of the Delawares and other tributaries of the Six Nations was rather in the nature of the release of a feudal

Ralston or Brown Fort, Northampton County

Built about 1755. From a sketch made especially for this work

lordship, concomitant with the buying out of the vassal's interest. Although the Six Nations said the Delawares had no lands to sell, the Proprietaries depended for quiet enjoyment upon the old deeds from these earlier owners. Among them, apparently, was one made in 1686, of which Thomas Penn had found a copy calling for a dimension "as far as a man can go in a day and a half" and thence to the river and down the courses thereof. In anticipation of completing the lines, the Proprietaries' agents hunted out the fastest woodsmen, to make the day and a half's journey, and had them as a preliminary taken over the ground, spending nine

days while the trees were duly blazed. Some Indians did not wish the line measured, but others had a treaty with Thomas Penn on August 25, 1737, and agreed that it should be by a walk, for which, as we see, he was prepared. On September 12, in presence of some Indians and some whites on horseback, three young men started at sunrise from the line near the Wrightstown Meeting House in Bucks County to walk northwestwardly, and proceeded at such a pace that one gave out in a few hours, never afterwards recovering his health. The other two by nightfall reached the north side of the Blue Mountains. At sunrise they resumed. One of them fell into a creek, was taken up blind, and died in three days. The last at noon threw himself at full length on the ground and grasped a sapling, which was then declared to mark the distance called for by the purchase, viz.: how far a man could go in a day and a half. Yet Scull, the surveyor-general in 1757, swore that he, with Eastburn, the surveyor-general at the time, was present, and the men did not run, but walked fairly. Those who defended the transaction rather scoffed at the notion of the Indians that the journey was to be made naturally, taking a shot at game, or sitting down to smoke a pipe. Let the reader say whether sixty miles is the distance a man can go on foot in a day and a half? That one man out of three did it, and lived, was the evidence for the side of a triangle of which the northern point was between the present towns of Milford and Shohola in Pike county. Other objections were made by the Indians in 1757, viz.: that the original deed was fictitious, that the walk should have been along the Delaware river, and that, even if the walk was in the right direction, and not too long, then the line from it should not have been at right angles to it, but to the nearest point of the river. These objections, however, were held to be groundless, but there seems to have been another, which probably was sufficient to reprobate this long notorious "Walking Purchase;" the chiefs who could dispose of a reasonable distance around Wrightstown had no ownership across the Lehigh.

Perhaps it would have been better for the United States of America if Lord Baltimore's largest claim had been acceded to by the Crown of England; in other words if, instead of the small strip now called Delaware being independent of the circumscribed region finally allowed to Maryland, there had been one large colony, eventually a state, extending from Virginia to the 40th parallel of latitude and from Delaware bay and river to the longitude of the head of the Potomac. In the Colonial and Revolutionary period, Delaware afforded another set of offices for Pennsylvania's public men; afterwards it was in political sympathy with Maryland. On American principles, neither of the adjoining States should have had the additional votes in the United States Senate. Had the 40th parallel been Pennsylvania's southern boundary, and so the greater part of the land covered by Philidelphia county, nearly all that of Delaware, and half that of the counties of Chester, Lancaster and York, etc., been given to Maryland; yes, and even at the same time had the claim of Connecticut over the region north of the 41st parallel been allowed, there still would have been sufficient land for the descendants of Admiral Penn to satisfy his pecuniary claim against the British government, and as a reward for his naval victories, and the more hemmed in the Quaker colony, and the stronger that of Maryland, the less would the non-resistant population of the former have been harassed to take measures for defence. But Philadelphia would have been where Pennsbury was. Charles II and his brother James believed that the grant by "the Royal Martyr," their father, to Cecilius Calvert, had not operated upon that country which the Dutch were occupying when they surrendered New York and its dependencies; and this was the important question in the mind of every Lord Baltimore, for, while it left him a contention as to how far south that occupation extended, yet, if the view of these monarchs was correct, there was no room for him on the Delaware river. As to the back country, James II gave him "to the 40th degree," making an order in Council Nov. 13,

1685, upon report to that effect of the Lords of Committee for Trade and Plantations, that the Peninsula between Delaware and Chesapeake Bay be divided equally by a line extending northwardly to the 40th degree, and all west of it be adjudged to Lord Baltimore, and all east of it to the King. Penn having appeared before the Council as the King's agent, it was claimed afterwards

George Croghan

Indian trader; settled near the site of Harrisburg as early as 1746; captain in Braddock's expedition 1755; settled near Pittsburgh after the French evacuation; became a large land owner, and subsequently took a prominent part in public affairs. Photographed especially for this work from a print in posession of Dr. W. J. Holland

that James's intention was to take the land east of the line in trust for the confirmation of his deeds when Duke of York to Penn; but no patent followed. The Proprietary of Pennsylvania, with no muniment of title to the Lower Counties except the deeds of 1682, conveying the Duke of York's rights, royalty, etc., along with the soil thereof, was recognized by William and Mary as having the government of those territories as well as of the Province up the river; but Lord Baltimore several times tried to have the order of 1685 rescinded, and every time the Proprietary of Pennsylvania applied for the confirmation of his appointment

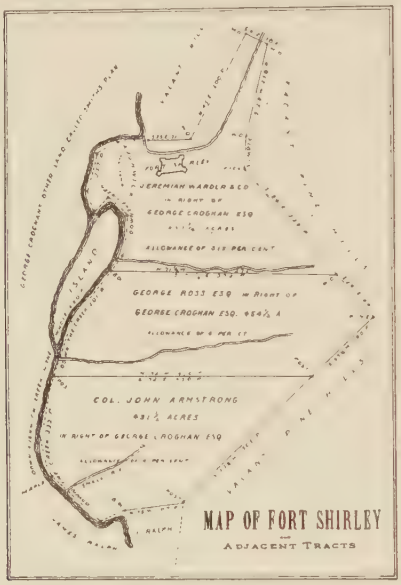
of a Lieutenant-Governor, a declaration was made that such confirmation as to the Territories, or Lower Counties, should not be construed as establishing any right thereto in the applicant, and the order of approval was often made to read "and of said three Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex during His Majesty's royal will and pleasure only." After Gordon was approved of, Lord Baltimore on one side and the Earl of Sunderland on the other, made application for a royal grant of the government. The terms of the decree of 1685 recognized Penn's title to the soil at least of the Lower Counties, and to the soil and government of what is now Delaware county and the lower part of Philadelphia county. As to the back country, if the line of the Maryland patent ran to the 40th parallel of latitude, the northeastern corner of that colony and state would have been fixed by accurate mathematicians at a point northeast of the present Coatesville, so that York, Hanover, Gettysburg, Chambersburg, McConnellsburg, etc., would never have been Pennsylvania towns. But contrary to what we would suppose, the expression "the fortieth degree" appears to have meant the beginning of that degree, in other words, the 39th parallel. Evidently the officials of King Charles II. so understood it, for they passed the charter to Penn calling for the beginning of the 40th degree as his southern boundary, meaning that that was the northern boundary of Maryland. So when Penn received also his feoffment from the Duke of York he had a title to the northern part of Delaware with the present Maryland counties of Cecil, Harford, etc., while Lord Baltimore's charter included Lewes and the adjoining country as far up as a few miles above the mouth of Mispillion Creek. Yet it will be seen on a modern map that the 39th parallel, which runs about three miles north of Annapolis, would have cut off Maryland from any land at the headwaters of the Potomac. The third Lord Baltimore ran a line from the Susquehanna at the mouth of Octoraro Creek in rather a northeasterly direction towards the Delaware; but about the time of William Penn's death, Mary-

landers, with the 40th parallel in mind, began creeping up the west side of the river; and in 1729 Thomas Cresap established himself at Conejohela on land from which two years before the settlers under Pennsylvania had been withdrawn at the request of the Conestoga Indians. The exact location of the 40th parallel, like every other question of boundary, was so uncertain that he and his companions could claim alternate allegiance, as the authority of either Province was about to be exercised over them; so they burned Indian cabins, destroyed the Indians' goods and took away their guns, and killed the horses of the traders. On May 10, 1732, Charles, fifth Lord Baltimore, executed an agreement with John, Thomas, and Richard Penn, joining William Penn the heir-at-law, that the boundary line should be run by commissioners from each side as follows: starting from the middle point of a line due west from Cape Henlopen to Chesapeake bay, the line should run until as a tangent it touched the periphery of a circle drawn at twelve miles distance from New Castle, thence due north until it came to the latitude of fifteen miles due south of the southernmost point of the city of Philadelphia, i. e., of the point where the southerly line of South street strikes the river Delaware, and from the junction of that line and that latitude, as the northeast corner of Maryland, a line should be run due west to the extent of Pennsylvania, but for the present 25 miles west of the Susquehanna should suffice. Baltimore's commissioners interposed every pretence to prevent the running of the line according to its plain meaning, and yet to relieve him from paying the £5,000 stipulated in the agreement to be forfeited by the party failing to carry it out. Lord Baltimore alleged that after arriving in Maryland in November, 1732, after the joint commissioners had begun their fruitless parleys, he found out that he had been deceived by false maps into an agreement which was wholly one-sided, in which, finally surrendering New Castle, Kent, and Sussex, he had agreed to a limit on the north which took from him about 2,500,000 acres south of the 40th parallel.

The joint commissioners adjourned *sine die* Nov. 24, 1733, the Maryland commissioners adhering to their contention that the circle around New Castle must be twelve miles in circumference, instead of in radius. Baltimore went back to England, and on Aug. 8, 1734, while John Penn was on his way to America, petitioned the King for a confirmation of title to so much of the peninsula as was embraced in the bounds in Cecilius Calvert's patent, notwithstanding the clause "hactenus inculta" in the preamble thereto. The Lords of Trade, to whom the petition was referred on its presentation, reported in the following January that the Lower Counties were included within the limits of Calvert's patent, and that the clause "hactenus inculta" did not except them from the grant. On May 16 the King, after a hearing of both sides by the Privy Council, ordered that the whole matter, including a counter petition from the Penns, should be postponed until Michaelmas Term, to enable either party to proceed in a court of equity as to the agreement of 1732. The Penns filed a bill in chancery on June 21, for specific performance of the agreement, and the clearing of doubts about the circle and centre, offering to fix the centre in the middle of the town of New Castle. Baltimore's answer set up that the agreement was void from imposition upon him, and for want of consideration.

Samuel Blunston acted as the Proprietaries' agent on the west side of the Susquehanna, and, prior to the treaty of 1736, granted licenses to settlers in those parts, which in due time were deemed sufficient evidence of title. Some Germans went across, and were paying county levies to Lancaster county, when their neighbor, Thomas Cresap, holding under a Maryland title, induced them to acknowledge Lord Baltimore as landlord. The Germans finding the rents asked for, heavy, and being told that the land was not Baltimore's, sent a writing to the Governor of Maryland explicitly renouncing the allegiance. The sheriff of Baltimore county, with 300 men on horseback, armed with carbines, pistols, and cutlasses, headed by trumpet and drum, commanded by

Colonel Edward Hall, came up to Conejohela to dispossess the Germans; but the sheriff of Lancaster, gathering 150 inhabitants, although he had no arms or ammunition for them, demanded by what right the peace of his county was broken: and, indeed, John Hendricks's plantation, where some came, was upwards of 20 miles



Map showing location of Fort Shirley

A frontier fort in Huntingdon County

north of the line agreed upon in 1732, and it was not then known whether Cresap's was actually south of the 40th parallel. The Marylanders, after capturing one man for alleged riot, and after distraining at some of the houses, retired, sending word to the Germans, that, if they would return to their allegiance, the taxes should be remitted for the present, but if they did not do so within two weeks, a greater force would come, and put into possession those who would be more faithful. Cresap seems to have started

the project of about 50 persons of what Pennsylvania called the lower parts of Chester county, to remove to these lands, expected to be vacant through the ousting of the former occupiers, the Deputy Governor of Maryland issuing warrants for 200 acres to each adventurer, and Cresap taking arms and ammunition up the Chesapeake from Annapolis, and enlisting some men at 12*l.* per annum. But the Pennsylvania officials arrested some of the leaders. The Lancaster county people then determined that Cresap, who held a captain's commission from Maryland, must not remain at large. A warrant against him on the charge of murder, claimed by his friends to have been in self-defence, had been issued by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania; so Samuel Smith, the sheriff of Lancaster, gathered a posse of 24, and on November 24 proceeded to the house of Cresap, where they found him ready for defence, with six men bound by oath to stand by him, and to shoot not only their assailants, but any one of themselves who surrendered. One of the six escaped from the others by going up through the chimney. When Cresap refused to yield, the sheriff secured more assistance, and besieged the place, the inmates keeping up a fusillade until near sundown, when the sheriff set fire to the house, in which were also Cresap's wife and children. Cresap would not surrender, although offer was made to extinguish the flames. When the floor was about to fall in, those inside made a rush, and in the confusion one of the defenders was killed. The Pennsylvanians claimed that it was by the bullet of one of his companions, all five of whom were secured, and, except one left at Lancaster on a charge of rape, were taken to Philadelphia and put in its jail, Cresap on the previous charge of murder, the others on that of riot. The Lieutenant-Governor of Maryland sent Edward Jennings and Daniel Dulany to Philadelphia to treat for the discharge of the prisoners, and the punishment of the sheriff and his men, but the only result was taking the irons off Cresap. The Council and Assembly of Pennsylvania united in a petition to the King, following one by the Ger-

mans interested. Charles Higginbotham, having obtained a captain's and justice's commission from the Lieutenant-Governor of Maryland, and led a small party up the Susquehanna, was guilty of a number of severities or outrages by which the Germans were reduced to a deplorable condition. However, on August 8, 1737, the King ordered both Governors to preserve peace on their respective borders, and to make no grants of any part of the lands in contest between the Proprietors or of any parts of the Lower Counties, and to permit no person to settle there until his Majesty's pleasure be further signified. On complaint by the Penns and the agent for the Province of Pennsylvania of further disorders by Marylanders, the Lords of Trade effected an agreement between the adverse Proprietaries that the former order stand except as to the Lower Counties; that all lands possessed by or under either should remain in such possession and under such jurisdiction until final settlement of the boundaries; that as to vacant land outside of the Lower Counties, and not in possession as aforesaid, on the east side of the Susquehanna as far south as 15¼miles south of the latitude of the southernmost point of Philadelphia, and on the west side as far south as 14¾ miles south of the said latitude, the temporary jurisdiction should be in the Proprietors of Pennsylvania; and as to the vacant lands south of such limits, the temporary jurisdiction should be in the Proprietor of Maryland; and that within the limits of their jurisdictions respectively the Proprietors could grant lands on the usual terms, accounting to each other after the final determination. The King granted an order for carrying out this agreement, May 25, 1738; and the temporary line was run.

Logan, after the arrival of the new Lieutenant-Governor, and continuance for a year more as Chief Justice, retired from public affairs except occasional presence at Indian treaties, devoting himself to very extensive literary and scientific pursuits. Before his death in 1751 he gave his great collection of books for the use of the public. This, known as the Loganian Library, of which

his heir-at-law was to be librarian, and for which he gave a lot of ground, is now, with some additions, at the Ridgway Library building, administered by the Library Company of Philadelphia.

George Thomas arrived on June 1, 1738. The Proprietaries instructed him not to assent to any law for making or continuing bills of credit unless it enacted that the quit rents and other rents due or to become due to the Proprietaries, be paid according to the rate of exchange between Philadelphia and London. The Assembly having presented to him an act for reprinting, etc., all the bills of credit outstanding, and for striking the further sum of 11,110*l.* 5*s.* on loan, he pointed out, that, as the exchange between Philadelphia and London was 70 per cent., while the discount on Proclamation money, according to the act of Parliament of 6 Annæ was only £33,6*s.*, 8*d.* per £100, it was unjust to oblige persons to receive the paper money at the value of Proclamation money for debts contracted to be paid in English money, and he proposed to except all debts, rents, and quit rents to the Proprietaries, and all debts due in Great Britain agreed to be paid in sterling. The Assembly rejected this, but proposed if the bill without such amendment be passed, to pay 1,200*l.* to the Proprietaries as a compensation for their losses in the difference in exchange on the quit rents already due, and 130*l.* annually for their losses on those falling due in the time named in the bill. Thomas Penn accepted this, as a necessary sacrifice for the public good, feeling that a failure to re-emit the current bills of credit would be injurious to the trade of the province. Lieutenant-Governor Thomas explained the extent of this sacrifice; the arrearages were £11,000 sterling, so that to make up even 50 per cent., 1,833*l.*, 6*s.*, 6*d.* were required, and to make up 70 per cent., 4,033*l.*, 6*s.* 8*d.*

In October, 1739, the prospect of a war with the yet mighty kingdom of Spain induced the Lieutenant-Governor with some eloquence to ask the Assembly to prepare for the defence of the province. It had been about thirty years, and there had been great progress since a similar request had been made. The

Quakers being in the majority, the Assembly sent back the old answer; nor could Thomas, by eloquence or argument, by courtesy or ill-suppressed indignation, move them to consent to a militia law, even when those conscientiously opposed to fighting were to be exempted from its provision. In the course of a series of messages between Thomas and the Assembly, Israel Pemberton Jr. said in conversation with several persons in Alexander Graydon's house, that it was known what the Governor was before he came over, and what there was to expect of him. It was his design to overturn the Constitution, and reduce this to a King's government, and it would be proved on him. Graydon, who was not a sympathizer with the Quakers, said that as probably the dispute would be laid before their superiors, the latter would best judge of his behavior. Pemberton replied that he did not doubt the Governor would use all his friends to set the Assembly in the wrong, and would make an unjust representation of the matter. This conversation became the talk of the town. Pemberton went to Graydon the next day, but told him that he wanted no apology for his words being made public, for he was very glad that the Governor had heard truths which the sycophants who kept company with the Governor would never tell him. Thomas, claiming the right as chief magistrate to issue a warrant to bring persons before him for examination on charges of a breach of the peace, issued one against Pemberton, returnable that afternoon. Neither Thomas Griffitts, the third justice of the Supreme Court, nor any other councillor, objected, but when they met in the afternoon, awaiting the sheriff and Pemberton, Griffitts, called out of the room for a few minutes, signed a writ of habeas corpus and admitted Pemberton to bail. Thomas told the sheriff that the habeas corpus was illegal, and the officer answerable for Pemberton not being in his custody. The Lieutenant-Governor issued a second warrant. For several days the sheriff made an unsuccessful and perhaps not very earnest attempt to take Pemberton. War with Spain was proclaimed at

the Town House on April 14, 1740, with cries of "God Save the King," firing of cannon from Society Hill, drinking to the King's health, and opening of beer for the populace. Pressing the Assembly to obey the royal instruction by providing victuals, transports, and other necessaries for the troops to be raised in Pennsyl-

Brietenback Block House in 1895

East of Myerstown, Lebanon County; used as a rendezvous by the settlers, under Conrad Weiser, 1755. From a sketch made especially for this work

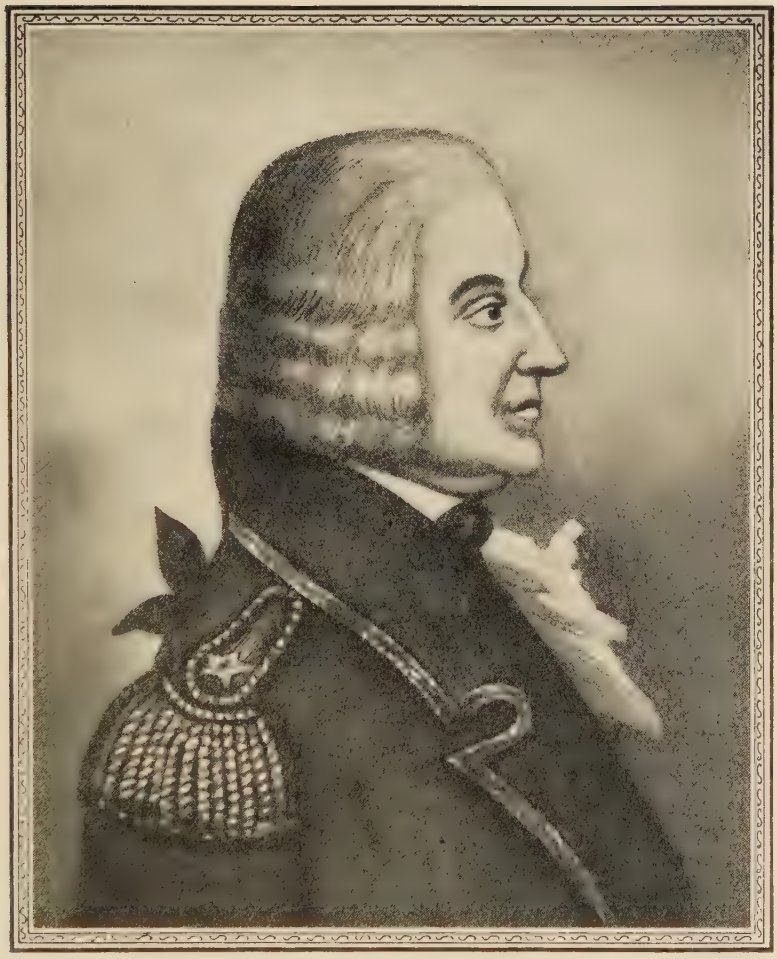
vania for the expedition against the West Indies, the clothes, tents, arms, ammunition, and pay being provided by the government of Great Britain, Thomas offered to the Assembly to appoint commissioners to assist in the application of any money it might vote, and to render a regular account. The non-Quaker population organized seven companies of soldiers, but in these a large number of indentured servants enlisted. Many Quaker masters were thus injured. The Assembly took up the matter, and ad-

dressed the Governor; but the runaways had taken the oath, and a large portion had received the King's subsistence for several weeks, and the Governor declined to dismiss them, except as free men took their places. That the provision for the troops could be made in time, private citizens advanced the money. Thomas Penn sent word to the Assembly on Aug. 6 that, as he was very unwilling that any private interest of his family should make the House less capable of assisting his Majesty, he was content to wait for the payments due the Proprietaries until after provision for the forces. Finally, on the 9th of August, the Assembly yielded to the importunities for money, and voted 3,000*l.* to Thomas Griffitts, Edward Bradley, John Stamper, Isaac Norris, and Thomas Leech, "for the use of King George II.," provided, however, that no warrant for said sum should issue from the Speaker until all the servants enlisted should be returned to their masters free of all charges. A remonstrance to the King was drawn up, and Richard Partridge was appointed agent for the province, so as to present this. At the next Assembly, a committee reported the number of servants thus eloigned as 262, and compensation was made to the masters.

The Society of Friends, although numbering, it is said, only one-third of the population, was admirably organized for politics as well as religion and charity: the Yearly Meeting gathered the chief men together just before the elections for assemblymen, and it was but natural that they should compare notes, and consult on the political situation and agree upon candidates. Yet all who professed themselves Quakers were not unanimously of the attitude represented by the Assembly. The Proprietaries and those affiliated with them and some others, had laid hold of a distinction between a lawful and an unlawful war, and naturally made themselves believe that their King was prosecuting a lawful war. Logan apparently had never been a non-resistant, and in 1741 wrote from his retirement at Stenton, a letter to the Meeting setting forth the defenceless state of the province and the ill con-

sequences that might ensue upon men of their principles procuring themselves to be returned to the Assembly. The shrewder heads, anxious to ward off the influence of such an epistle—for they had cause to fear if once they withdrew from politics, their ascendency could never be regained—hit upon the expedient of appointing a committee, Robert Jordan, John Bringhurst, Ebenezer Large, John Dillwyn, and Robert Strettell, to peruse the letter, and report whether it contained matters proper to be communicated to the Meeting. The committee reported, that, as it contained matters of a military and geographical nature, it was by no means proper to be read. Robert Strettell alone remarked, that, considering the letter came from a man of abundant experience, an old member who had a sincere affection for the welfare of the Society, he was apprehensive, should it be refused a reading, such a procedure would disgust not only him but the large body of Friends in England. This minority report was not expected, and John Bringhurst caught him by the coat, saying sharply, "Sit thee down, Robert Strettell, thee art single in that opinion." (Letter of Richard Peters.) The Assembly chosen in 1741 unanimously voted 3,000*l.* "for the King's use" forwarded through the agent in London; so the general course of Quaker majorities in time of war had been pursued; first an affirmance of conscientious scruples, and a denial of the province being in danger, and a firm although perhaps unspoken refusal to pass a militia law, then a plea of poverty, and, after many adjournments, until the opportunity to use the money most efficiently had passed, a loud cry against grievances, for which there was a committee ready, just as Friends had a meeting for sufferings, and finally an appropriation, not very generous, specified euphomistically as "for the King's use," and justified as rendering "tribute to Cæsar." Isaac Norris, son of William Penn's friend of that name, and grandson of Thomas Lloyd, was a leader of the strict Friends in the Assembly, differing in politics from Logan, one of whose daughters he had married. The various disputes between the Governor and

the Quakers, or "Norris party," brought about contests for office as bitter as in modern times. The re-election of Norris to the Assembly in 1741 could not be prevented; and the Quakers had some vantage ground with Norris and his brother-in-law Griffitts and uncle Preston, as three of the aldermen of the city. But the corporation was too important a political factor to be allowed to feel his influence. The adverse party mustered a majority to elect four new aldermen and five new councilmen who would further the Governor's plans; and the prominence of the Lloyd connection and even the equal footing of the Quakers in that board was destroyed forever. It was not so easy to defeat Norris at a popular election. In 1742, after a session in which he had been head of nearly every committee, and in which he had performed lasting services in superintending the completion of portions of the State House, and in purchasing a site and devising plans for a Lazaretto, the wealthy Recorder of the city, William Allen, contended for his seat in the House. The German settlers had invariably voted with the Quakers, and it was charged that the "Norris party" had been in possession of the polls, crowded out their opponents, and elected their candidate with the aid of unnaturalized voters. But if the Governor's friends cried "fraud," they were now guilty of "bulldozing." On election day of that year a party of sailors, strong enough in numbers to make havoc in the little city, marched up from the wharves, applied their clubs, and, wounding several, drove the disciples of peace from the State House. In the hubbub that followed, Allen is reported to have said "They had as good a right to be there as the unnaturalized Dutchmen;" he took no steps to preserve the peace, and his supposed complicity lost him many votes. Such violence brought a reaction in public feeling, and Norris was returned. A fresh controversy arose from this "Riot of 1742," the new Assembly desiring the Governor to bring the officers of the city corporation to trial before the Supreme Court, and the Governor refusing, after which a resolution was passed censuring the



E Braddock.

Generalissimo of all British soldiers in the Colonies, 1755; defeated by the Indians and French near the Monongahela river, 1755

officers in question for neglect of duty. In time the Lieutenant-Governor and Assembly attempted an harmonious course. Certain bills which had been insisted upon, he finally assented to, and the money-voting power granted him his means of subsistence.

In July, 1742, about 200 Indians, among them deputies from all of the Six Nations except the Senecas, Canassatego the Onondaga being speaker, came to Philadelphia to receive the goods in exchange for the land west of the Susquehanna, purchased in 1736. He explained the absence of the Senecas by their starving condition; a father had killed two of his children to preserve the lives of himself and the rest of his family. When the 45 guns, 60 kettles, 160 coats, 100 blankets, etc., had been counted, Canassatego acknowledged compliance with the agreement, but said that he thought if the Proprietary himself had been present he would have given the Indians more, in consideration of their numbers and poverty. They knew the value of the lands, they knew, too, that land was everlasting, and the few goods were soon worn out and gone. Moreover, they complained that some whites had settled on the Juniata and at Mahanoy, beyond the land purchased and to the injury of the Delawares. The Lieutenant-Governor replied that the Proprietaries had taken the key of their chest with them, having in fact been more generous than the agreement called for. As to the increase in value, was it not owing to the industry of the whites? Had they not come, the land would have been of no use but to maintain the red men, and was there not enough left for that purpose? The Quaker government, however, never grudged the Indians a present, and so goods worth 300*l.* were given. Then the Six Nations were requested to turn the Delawares from New Jersey off the lands at the forks of the Delaware, and accordingly the Six Nations censured these "women," as they called them, and obliged them to move to Wyoming or Shamokin.

War with France was proclaimed in Pennsylvania on June 18, 1744, all the inhabitants capable of bearing arms being en-

joined to provide themselves with firelock, bayonet, cartouch box, and powder and balls.

After a fight near the James River between a party of the Six Nations and some Virginians, in which several on both sides were killed, the Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania had offered mediation between that confederacy and the government of Virginia, and so was brought about a treaty at Lançaster between deputies of the confederacy and commissioners from Maryland and Virginia in June and July, 1744, Thomas being present, at which the Indians released their claims to land in those provinces, and peace and friendship were confirmed. The Indians were informed of the victories of the English over the French. Canassatego remarked that then they must have taken a good deal of rum from the French, and could better spare some to make the Indians rejoice with them; at which hint a dram for each was given in a small glass, which was called a "French glass." Canassatego the next day related how in recognition of their engagements they had told the Governor of Canada that none of his people should go through their country to hurt the English, and how they had secured the neutrality of the "Praying Indians," i. e., those converted to Roman Catholicism. Then Canassatego remarked that he had had a French glass; he now wanted a good-sized English glass; and the Governor told him that he was glad that he had such a dislike for what was French; "they cheat you in your glasses as well as in everything else." In the same year the Shawanees about Shamokin joined their brethren on the Ohio, and the Conoys moved from Conoytown to Shamokin. Peter Chartier, a trader partly of Shawanee blood, accepted a commission under the French, and at the head of a party of French and Shawanees, robbed and made prisoners of traders on the Ohio. On reports of a movement of French Indians against the colony, the Delawares at Shamokin were applied to to act as scouts, and harass any large body on the march, and join the frontiersmen in defence. There was some fear that the Six Nations, if they

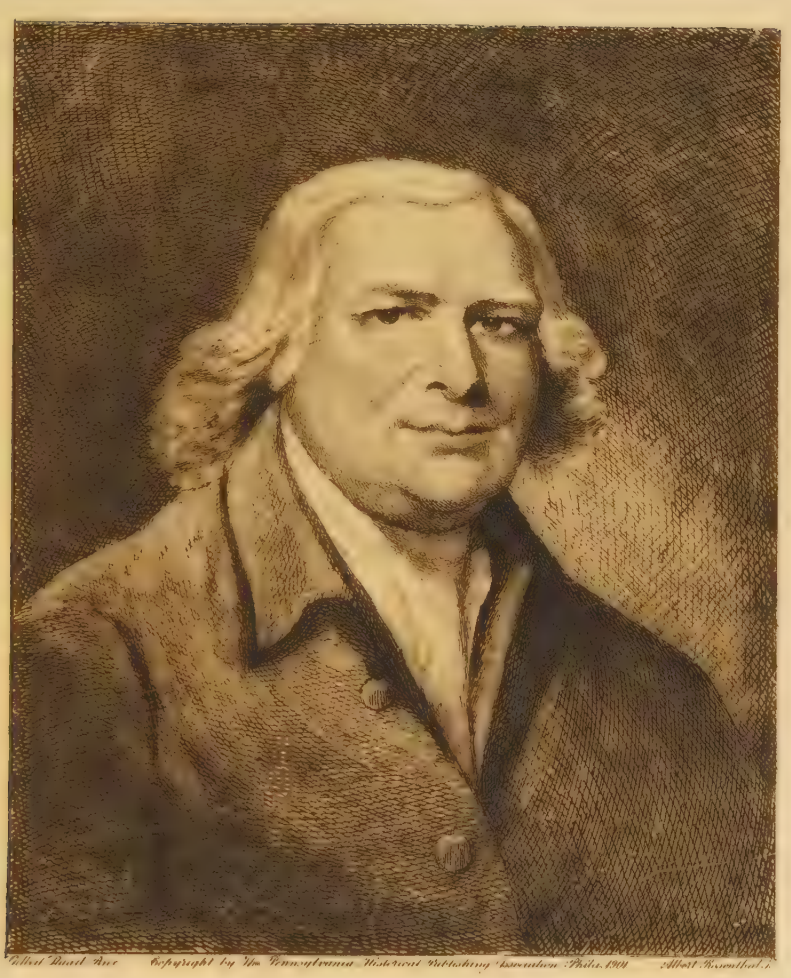
Braddock's Field

Showing old township road. Engraved especially for this work from an old print in possession of Henry A. Breed

found the French in danger of extinction, would join with them to preserve the balance of power. One old chief said to Conrad Weiser, who at this time was the provincial interpreter and messenger, that they knew their true interests; they would be neutral until they must join with either side for their own preservation; if one side drove the other out of America, the Six Nations would no longer receive consideration. The Commissioners of Indian Affairs at Albany proposed a meeting there with representatives of the confederacy, and, Lieutenant-Governor Thomas's health forbidding the journey, Thomas Lawrence and John Kinsey attended from Pennsylvania. They declined to join the commissioners from New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut in asking the Six Nations to make war on the eastern Indians for killing some whites. While to that proposition an answer was promised after a demand for satisfaction should be made upon the French Indians, Lawrence and Kinsey in a separate interview secured a reiteration of the undertaking to keep the French from passing through their country on the way to attack the English. Lawrence and Kinsey secured also a promise to meet the Catawbas at Philadelphia, to make peace with them.

It may be doubted whether the members of the Pennsylvania Assembly, ruling their conduct by their conscience, and taking care of the interests of their constituents, did not do about all they could in a war started by the question scarcely important to them, who should be German Emperor. When their King commanded that the colonies should carry out the requisitions of Commodore Peter Warren, and the latter asked for men armed and victualled for at least seven months to garrison the recently captured Louisburg, the Assembly on 5 mo. 24, 1745, voted 4,000*l.* for the King's use, to be laid out by John Pole and John Mifflin "in the purchase of bread, beef, pork, flour, wheat, and other grain or any of them within this Province, and to be shipped from hence for the King's service as the Governor shall think most fit." When this resolve was communicated to Thomas in due form by

two of the members, he told them that since the House had particularized for what the money should be spent, the mere putting of the shipping of it under his charge was no compliment to him. A little later he invented the interpretation, which Franklin would have us suppose was intended by the Quakers, that "other grain" meant gunpowder. So the forces were supplied with ammunition as well as victuals, the Lieutenant-Governor could claim that his province had satisfied the King, and the Quaker assemblymen said to their consciences that the matter had passed out of their hands. The next year, on receipt of the royal order for troops to join Governor Gooch's command at Albany for the campaign against Canada and for the provisions and part of the arms and clothing for them, the Assembly offered to vote money for the King's use by issuing bills of credit; but there had been previously received a royal instruction that no act for that purpose should be passed without a clause suspending it until approved of by the King, and the Lieutenant-Governor urged that the money be raised by a loan on the security of the excise or the income accruing from the mortgages given to the loan office. The Assembly replied that there was a deficiency in these sources of income, and any additional tax would be inconvenient. The Lieutenant-Governor thought that a population which for over twenty years had not paid a tax on estates could afford to pay off in a short period what should now be borrowed in excess of what the Assembly voted; but on June 24, 1746, he consented to an act granting 5,000*l.* to the King's use out of the bills of credit remaining to be exchanged for torn and ragged bills, and for striking the like sum to replace them. The 24th of July was a thanksgiving day for the Duke of Cumberland's victory over the Pretender's Scotch forces at Culloden. The Lieutenant-Governor's proclamation ordered the magistrates to prevent all immoralities and riotous disorders, "that the day may be observed with a solemnity becoming our Christian profession, and not as has been too often the practice, with drunkenness and other kinds of licentiousness."



Gilbert Stuart Pinx. Copyright by the Pennsylvania Historical Publishing Association Phila. 1909 Albert Rosenthal Jr.

Four companies from Pennsylvania went to Albany, the Lieutenant-Governor procuring them clothing, arms, and ammunition on his own credit, in expectation of remittances from Lieutenant-General St. Clair, who was to go from England to Louisburg as commander-in-chief. But St. Clair and the money not arriving, Thomas applied to the Assembly for a loan to His Majesty to pay for those articles and discharge the arrears due to the soldiers and provide subsistence for the time being. The House answered that there was no money to lend to the Crown, but he could use his own judgment about applying what was left of the 5,000*l.* to the present exigencies. Four months subsistence from the time of the arrival of the companies at Albany was secured from Gen. Gooch, and Thomas applied to the Assembly to continue this. The Assembly then thought that as the time for the campaign had elapsed, the troops could come home.

On October 25, 1746, John Penn, "the American," died unmarried at Hitcham, Co. Bucks, England. Thomas, in condoling with the Assembly upon the event, spoke of his humanity, good nature, and affability.

CHAPTER XIII.

THOMAS PENN AND RICHARD PENN

THE Penn estates in Pennsylvania and what is now Delaware were of four kinds. First, the millions of unoccupied and unappropriated acres, vast in future value, although their mineral wealth was not then dreamed of; as to these millions of acres, there were two sets of claims to be satisfied, those of the Indians and those of white purchasers whose rights had not been surveyed; the Indians, as we have seen, had by this time relinquished all the land southeast of the Blue mountains, and the "first purchasers" from William Penn had nearly all secured the warrant, the survey, and the patent whereby their indefinite property of so many acres "in Pennsylvania" had been located, and the subsequent purchasers took up their lands rapidly, some making bargains for definite tracts, the whole matter of granting warrants and making surveys as well as fixing price being in the hands of the Proprietaries and the officers who were their private servants. Then, secondly, were the quit rents, originally a shilling annually for every one hundred acres taken up by purchasers, higher on later grants; but as to the lots in Philadelphia these rents were larger, and as to the "bank lots," *i. e.*, those on the east side of Front street running down the bank to the water, these rents were to be increased at the end of every fifty years to a rent equal to one-third of the value then to be ascertained of both lot and improvements thereon. The quit rents were not easily, and never promptly, collected: they were vexatious in the country, and in

the city, being more considerable, were often extinguished like any ground rent. Thirdly, under the original plan that William Penn should take a tenth of the land as his private property, he and his sons and in fact his grandsons had large tracts surveyed for themselves as manors. Within these they let at will, from year to year, or for years, or sold at rent or prices according to special agreement, or their servants followed agriculture. Lastly, there was

Rocking Family Meat-Cutter

Used by the early German settlers. Photographed especially for this work from the original in possession of J. F. Sachse

the private property which had come to the Penns in other ways than by virtue of being Proprietaries, for instance that devised by Thomas Callowhill. The "Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania," printed in 1759, gives in the appendix an estimate of the Penn estates exclusive of the unoccupied and unappropriated lands which we first mentioned, prepared by Thomas Penn in John Penn's lifetime. After stating the value of quit rents reserved and the unpaid purchase money due as 188,278*l.* 10*s.*, Pennsylvania money, including 1,000*l.* as the value of the ferry franchises leased at 40*l.* per annum, he enumerates the private lands, etc., as follows, the estimated value being also in Pennsylvania money:

MANORS

1	Conestogoe, 65 m. from the city,		13,400 acres at	40*l.* per H.	5,360
2	Gilbert's	25	3,200	70	2,240
3	Springfield	12	1,600	75	1,200
4	Highlands	35	2,500	30	750
5	Springtown	37	10,000	35	3,500
6	Vincent's	40	20,000	35	7,000
7	Richland's	35	10,000	15	1,500
9	About 20 tracts in the several counties, mostly 500 acres each, reckoned 10,000 at 40*l.*				4,000
	Springetsbury		207 acres at	5*l.*	1,035
8	On the north side of the town		50	30	1,500
	Back of the said land		15	10	150
9	Lot in the bank at north end of the town, 200 feet at 3*l.*				600
10	A front and back lot between Vine and Sassafras street, 102 feet, at 6*l.*				612
11	Bank lot between Cedar and Pine		204 feet at	3*l.*	612
12	Front lot on the side of Cedar street		102	3	306
13	Ditto between Cedar and Pine		160	2	320
14	Bank lot between the same streets		40	2	80
15	Marsh land near the town, 600 acres at 3*l.*				1,800
16	Ditto 200 acres at 1*s.* sterling rent, and 165 per cent. is				330
	Lands within the draft of the town, at least 500 acres, 250 nearest Delaware at 15*l.* per acre				3,750
	250 nearest Schuylkill at 10*l.* per acre				2,500
17	Omitted—Streeper's tract in Bucks Co. 35 miles, 5,000 acres at 25*l.*				1,250
18	The rents of the above manor and lands being 77,072 acres at a halfpenny per acre. 20 years purchase at 165 per cent. exchange				5,298.12*s.*
					45,693*l.*12*s.*
	Value of quit rents reserved and unpaid purchase money due including value of ferry franchise as 1,000*l.*				188,278*l.*10*s.*
					233,972*l.*2*s.*
	The Government to be calculated at no less than was to have been paid for it, viz.: £11,000 at 165 per cent. is				18,150
					252,122*l.*2*s.*

In this calculation no notice is taken of the thirds reserved on the bank lots (a copy of the patents J. Penn has by him to shew the nature of them) and nine-tenths of the Province remains undisposed of.

Three-fifths of all royal mines is reserved in the grants, and in all grants since the year 1732 one-fifth part of all other mines delivered at the pit's mouth without charge is also reserved.

No value is put on the Proprietor's right to escheated lands; and besides these advantages, several offices are in the Proprietor's gift of considerable value.

Register-General about	200*l.*
Naval officer	300*l.*
Clerk of Philadelphia	400*l.*
Chester	300*l.*
Bucks	200*l.*
Lancaster	200*l.*

Besides several other offices of less value. These are only guessed at."

The will of John Penn, in accordance with his covenant to leave his estate to one or both of his brothers, gave his moiety of Pennsylvania and the Lower Counties to Thomas Penn for life, with remainder to his sons in the order of birth successively in tail male. Therefore during the twenty-nine years that Thomas survived, he had three times as much share as the youngest brother, Richard, or the son who succeeded the latter.

Of Richard Penn, who never came to Pennsylvania, the chief thing to remark is that at an early date he forsook the Society of Friends, and if he did not sacramentally join, otherwise conformed to the Church of England, his children receiving infant baptism. His children who lived to grow up, were John, Hannah, and Richard, of whom Hannah married James Clayton, and died without issue; John figures in our history as Councillor, Lieutenant-Governor, and Proprietary; and Richard was also Lieutenant-Governor, and alone left children, but these died without issue, the last in 1863. Of Lieutenant-Governor Richard Penn's brilliant son William, who made a derogatory and unlucky

marriage, when on a visit to Pennsylvania, George IV. said: "He was a Pen often cut (drunk) but never mended." Richard Penn the Proprietary died Feb. 4, 1771.

Thomas Penn, at John's death, took the direction in the government and business of property to which his share and seniority entitled him, and for which ability and experience fitted him. He was master over his weak nephew John, whom he sent away and kept away from the girl, objectionable in herself or her surroundings, perhaps only because they were humble, whom as a schoolboy John had married. He himself remained a bachelor until 1751, when he entered a family of the nobility by marrying Lady Juliana, daughter of Thomas Fermor, first Earl of Pomfret, second Baron Lempster, etc. From a mercer's apprentice, as Jenkins has supposed, at the death of the Founder of Pennsylvania, the middle-aged bridegroom had risen to be one of the rich gentry of England, ruler of an American principality larger than Ireland. He ceased to be a Quaker, regularly attending church after his marriage, and in 1760 purchased the historic seat of Stoke Park at Stoke Pogis, where he established his family. His sister Margaret's child, Philadelphia Hannah Freame, married in 1770 Thomas Dawson, Baron Dartrey, afterwards Viscount Cremorne, whose first wife was Lady Juliana's sister. Thomas Penn died March 21, 1775. Although he left sons, and one of them had children, the only descendants now living in male or female line of the Founder's second wife are through Thomas's daughter, who married, in 1796, Rev. Dr. William Stuart, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh.

John Penn, the American, had not thought well of a suggestion to make Thomas Penn the Lieutenant-Governor, perhaps because of the latter's want of popularizing manners, perhaps because he had already entered upon a life offensive in morals. An anecdote of his want of cordiality or effusiveness is worth repeating. When the Rev. Hugh David of Gwynedd called on him, having prepared a poem of welcome referring to the descent which

William Penn had claimed from the Welsh Tudors, Thomas Penn spoke three sentences: "How dost do?" "Farewell." "The other door." Mr. David did not hand him the poem. Watson, in the "Annals of Philadelphia," tells us how the hunter who made the Walk of 1737 received such small pay that he "damned Penn and his half wife to their faces." Watson further relates that when Thomas Penn was leaving Pennsylvania, some fellows raised a gallows across the road over which he had to pass. We may say that all through as a general rule in the conduct of affairs connected with Pennsylvania he showed the acquisitiveness of the land speculator with the selfishness of the aristocrat. Yet he had some public spirit, giving money or lots to certain institutions as well as to private individuals, and perhaps to reprobate his making the most of his property would be to demand of him the self-abnegation of a philanthropist or the proverbial, yet seldom found, generosity of a prince.

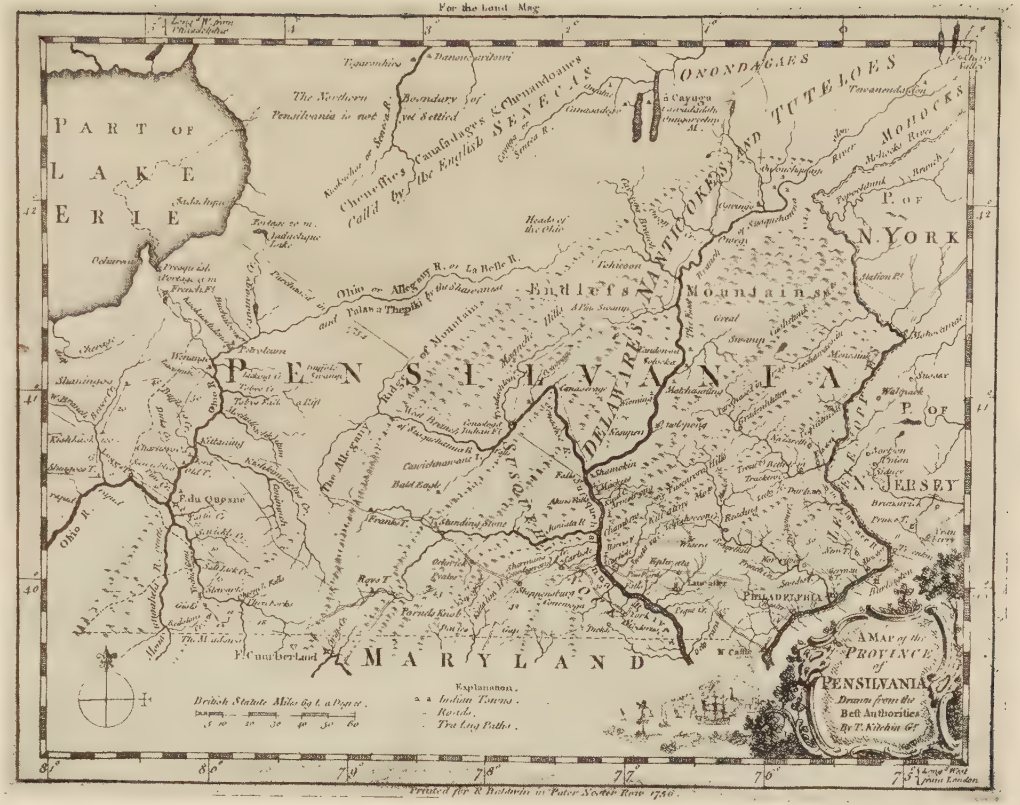
We will now proceed to a narration of the events of the earlier years of Thomas and Richard Penn's governorship and proprietaryship.

George Thomas, in his message announcing the death of John Penn, also notified the House of his own intended relinquishment of the lieutenant-governorship and departure for England, on account of his health. After the conflict between him and the Assembly, there was now harmony, and the House declared that his continuance in the exercise of the government would have been most agreeable to the members, and that nobody doubted his skill or abilities, and they believed that he had been regardful of both the King's service and the honor and reputation of the province.

At the last meeting of the Council presided over by Thomas, May 29, 1747, James Logan's resignation was accepted, he not having considered himself a member since Thomas's accession; and it was unanimously agreed that the following only were members, and in the following order of precedency, viz.: An-

thony Palmer, Thomas Lawrence, Samuel Hasell, William Till, Abraham Taylor, Robert Strettell, James Hamilton, Benjamin Shoemaker, Joseph Turner, Lawrence Growdon, and Thomas Hopkinson. William Logan, son of James, was then appointed, to take a seat at the next meeting. This was held on June 6, Thomas having meanwhile embarked, and Anthony Palmer as eldest councillor became President. He had come from Barbados forty years before, having been a merchant there, and, it would appear, a sea captain. He was a Churchman, and lived in considerable style. On his plantation in the Northern Liberties, from which, it is said, he came to the city in a barge, he started a town, to which he gave the name of Kensington.

At this time the dominion of the Penns was the granary of America; Philadelphia the supply port for provisions for any fleet operating above the Spanish Main. So whenever there was a war, an embargo was laid, from which the traders suffered. But now the trade with the other British possessions was nearly at a standstill from privateers in the bay. Landing parties burned plantations in the Lower Counties, and the city was in terror lest some French or Spanish man-of-war would make its way up the unprotected river, and have the place at its mercy. The Assembly was appealed to in vain to do something for defence. No militia law could be passed, had the Assembly been ever so willing, for, with no Governor, there was no power of legislation. Money, it had not, and while controlled by Quakers, it would not undertake obligations for such purposes. Benjamin Franklin, who for some years had been Clerk of the Assembly, and also Deputy Postmaster-General under ex-Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, wrote a pamphlet called *Plain Truth,* and suggested an association for defense at a town meeting. About 1,200 persons present enrolled themselves. Altogether about 10,000 names came in from the whole province. A battery was established where, sixty years afterward, the United States started its navy yard (foot of Prime street, Philadelphia). Franklin and



Map of Pennsylvania issued in 1756

Photographed especially for this work from a copy in possession of Dr. W. J. Holland

other prominent citizens went over to New York with a request from the Council, and induced Governor Clinton to let them have eighteen cannon. Franklin started a lottery for the battery; and James Logan spent 60*l.* in tickets, ordering any prizes that he might draw to be devoted to the cause. A motion was carried in the fire company, in which were many Quakers, to appropriate money for a fire engine, and the mover of the motion and the rest of the committee bought a fine cannon, that being what the warlike members meant by a "fire engine." The 7th of January, 1747-8, was a day of fasting and prayer. Application was made to the Admiralty for a British man-of-war to cruise in the bay. The Otter sloop, Capt. Ballet, was sent, through the endeavors of the Proprietaries in London, but met with a very large vessel on the way, fought for four hours, and was so much weakened as to have to be repaired before attempting any service. Although the plan of the military association, whereby, among other features, the men elected their officers, and these were not under the command of the acting Governor, was irregular, the attendance was so constant and the drilling so careful that it was the opinion of most strangers that Pennsylvania had the best militia in America and one of the best furnished batteries of its size on the continent.

By a treaty held at Lancaster in July, 1748, the Twightees dwelling on the Wabash were brought into alliance with Pennsylvania, and the Shawanees no longer with Chartier were received back into favor.

A preliminary treaty of peace was signed at Aix-la-Chapelle on April 19, 1748, acceded to by Spain on June 17, and a definitive treaty at the same place on October 7, subsequently acceded to by Spain, Austria, etc.

James Hamilton, of Bush Hill, in the Northern Liberties, who had been mayor of Philadelphia, and was a member of the Governor's Council, a son of the former Attorney-General, received, while sojourning in London, the Proprietaries' commis-

sion as Lieutenant-Governor, and arrived at home in November, 1748. He was the only inhabitant of the province appointed to that office after the death of Penn, in whose lifetime, moreover, Lloyd and Markham at his second appointment were the only ones. So the new Lieutenant-Governor was hailed with pleasure; but he had a dispute with his first Assembly. It passed a bill for the issuing of 20,000*l.* in bills of credit. The instructions sent in 1740 by the British Ministry having forbidden the Governor to pass any act for that purpose without a clause suspending its operation until the royal assent should be given, Hamilton proposed an amendment to that effect; whereupon the Assembly unanimously resolved that it would be "destructive of the liberties derived to them by the royal and provincial charters," the charter of Charles II having expressly authorized the legislature of the province to enact laws which should remain in force five years or until the King repealed them. Hamilton remained firm, considering that these instructions were contemplated in the bond of £2,000 which he had given on his taking office; and Ryder, ex-Attorney-General of England, afterwards gave an opinion sustaining him.

On August 22, 1749, Hamilton purchased for the Proprietaries from the Six Nations a tract bounded by the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers, extending from the Blue mountains to a line running from the mouth of Lackawaxen creek to the mouth of Mahanoy Creek. York county, including what is now Adams, was formed in 1749, and Cumberland, lying west and southwest of it, in 1750, Berks and Northampton in 1752.

On May 15, 1750, Lord Chancellor Hardwicke decided the case brought by the Penns against Lord Baltimore in 1737, saying that from the mighty interests involved "it was worthy the judicature of a Roman Senate rather than of a single judge." He found that, in making the agreement of 1732 for settling the boundaries, Lord Baltimore was neither surprised nor imposed upon nor ignorant. There was no mistake as to the intention of

the parties. The settlement of boundaries was a sufficient consideration to both. It was not necessary for the court to go into the question of the original right of the parties, it being sufficient that the right was doubtful. The clearest point, the Chancellor said, was as to the circle around New Castle; it was to be twelve miles in radius, with the center of the town for its center. So he decreed specific performance without prejudice to any right of the Crown.

This decision, disposing of one boundary question, left others looming up about this time. That with Connecticut was scarcely thought of. Charles II granted on April 23, 1662, nineteen years before the charter to Penn, a charter to Connecticut, bounding it as follows: "On the east by Narragansett river, commonly called Narragansett bay, where the said river falleth into the sea; on the north by the line of the Massachusetts Plantation, and on the south by the sea, and in longitude as the line of the Massachusetts colony running from east to west, that is to say from the said Narragansett bay on the east to the South Sea on the west part." As was well pointed out by Provost William Smith, D. D., if this description was to be literally followed, the south line of Connecticut would run down the whole Atlantic coast line of America to Cape Horn and up the Pacific coast line, where it would coincide with the western boundary, the Pacific Ocean, or South Sea. As between Connecticut and New York a boundary line was fixed, which in Penn's time was supposed to be as far west as the former would ever claim. Over thirty years after his death some of the inhabitants of that crowded colony took up the notion that although New York was to be excepted from the operation of their old charter, any land west of New York was not, and that the jurisdiction lawfully, jumping New York, ran across Pennsylvania and any other region where Europeans were not in possession at the date of the charter. The southern line of their claim was the latitude of the southernmost point of Connecticut east of New York. Unreasonable as we think this claim, yet if it

could have been satisfied without embroiling the British colonies with the Indians, it would have been for the best interests of America. Connecticut was the most thickly populated of the colonies, needed a chance to overflow, and could have sent an energetic, self-reliant, and belligerent community to subdue the earth, and stand against the French.

The events recorded in our next chapter made the boundary between Pennsylvania and Virginia a matter for consideration. Charles II's charter to William Penn gave him five degrees of longitude westward from the eastern bounds, that is from the Delaware river; but did that mean five degrees from the longitude of the point where the river crossed the northern boundary line, which would seem reasonable, or five degrees from the westernmost point of the meandering river within the borders, or five degrees from the easternmost point thereof within the borders? Or did it mean that the western boundary was not to be a straight line, but a series of curves paralleling the course of the Delaware and each point five degrees from the corresponding point of the river? A good portion of the present state of West Virginia lies north of the 39th parallel, which was in so many words made our southern boundary. The fixing of a boundary with Maryland north of this parallel was based upon a private agreement to which Virginia was not a party, and did not prevent Pennsylvania from having an L running along the western boundary of Maryland.

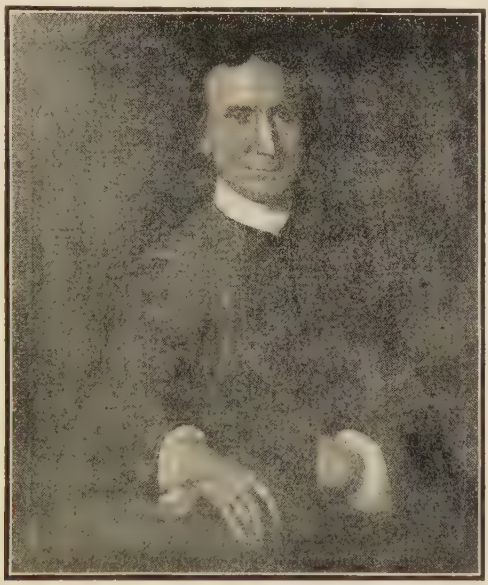
CHAPTER XIV.

THE FRENCH INVASION

WE now come to a time when, upon a wider question of boundaries, there were not merely a few casualties, but, the parties being two "world-powers," blood was poured over the mountains of Pennsylvania, the food as well as the shelter for man and beast was reduced to ashes in the rich frontier valleys, families were decimated by the snatching away of loved ones to captivity among savages, while extortion, rapine, and lust had their victims, as usual, in the path of the enemy's raid or the friendly army's march. Prior to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, as far as we know, there had never been any fort, post or settlement of Frenchmen within the present limits of this State, although Brulé had, in 1615, visited Tioga Point (Athens, Bradford county), Canadians had made maps of the country west of the Alleghanies, and French missionaries and traders were in possession of the lower Ohio. When, therefore, after that treaty, notwithstanding the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, had described the Five Nations as subject to the dominion of Great Britain, and prohibited the subjects of France from hindering or molesting them or the other natives friendly to the same, and had given liberty to both sides to go and come on account of trade; when, notwithstanding this, French officers, basing their claim on early exploration and the restoration of original possessions by the treaties of peace, came to the banks of the Allegheny, which then was included under the name of Ohio river, or La Belle Rivière, and attempted to turn off the

English traders, we call it an invasion. Yet we cannot lay upon the governor of Canada, or the ministers of Louis XV, who may have prompted him or supported him, all the blame for the war, the first assaults of which the New England officials were champing to make, the first gun of which rascally traders from the middle provinces were scarcely restrained from firing. After all, Pennsylvania became a desolation because Great Britain, as she has done in engaging in several great wars, made herself a party to the scheme of non-resident speculators. The Ohio Company was chartered in 1749, composed mostly of Marylanders and Virginians, and obtained from the King of England a grant of 500,000 acres of land on the Ohio between the Monongahela and Kanawha rivers, on condition of building and garrisoning a fort, and within seven years settling one hundred families. By the interpretation finally adopted of Charles II's charter to William Penn, part of this land was in Pennsylvania and belonged to the Proprietaries thereof, saving the rights of the Indians, whom, however, none but Penn's heirs could legally buy off: by the contention of the French the whole of North America west of the Alleghanies was theirs. Previous to the chartering of this company, or before the fact was known to the Governor of New France, the latter, who was the Marquis de la Galissonnière, sent Celeron de Bienville to the Allegheny and further down the Ohio. He, finding Pennsylvania traders there, complained of it to Governor Hamilton, in August, 1749, and nailed up or buried plates "as a monument," the inscriptions said, "of our having retaken possession of the said River Ohio and of those that fall into the same and of all the lands on both sides as far as the sources of the said rivers, as well as of those of which the preceding kings of France have enjoyed possession, partly by force of arms, partly by treaties, especially by those of Ryswick, Utrecht, and Aix-la-Chapelle." Various embassies followed to induce the Indians recently in alliance with the English to return to their allegiance to the French, and let them build forts and monopolize

trade. Christopher Gist, sent by the Ohio Company, and George Croghan and Andrew Montour, sent by the Governor of Pennsylvania, were the chief agents in foiling these attempts, or rather in confirming the Ohio Indians in their refusal. The French, not



Timothy Horsfield

Built the first private house at Bethlehem; took an important part in protecting the settlements against the Indians, 1755-1761; with William Parsons, he laid out the first road between Bethlehem and Easton. Photographed especially for this work from the original portrait in oil by Haidt in the possession of Dr. W. J. Holland

confining themselves to presents and proclamations, arrested traders and confiscated their goods, while the conversion of many of the Indians in New York to the Roman Catholic religion seemed an entering lever which might turn the Six Nations. The Proprietaries, having been asked by the Assembly of Pennsylvania for

a contribution to the necessary presents sent to the tribes by the Province, refused, but offered to give 400*l.* towards building a fort and 100*l.* a year towards maintaining in it, with arms and powder, a garrison of four or six men commanded by the chief trader. In this the Assembly refused to take part, saying that they did not believe the Ohio Indians really wished it, although Croghan's journal so stated. The Assembly added: "We have always found that sincere, upright dealing with the Indians, a friendly treatment of them on all occasions, and particularly in relieving their necessities at proper times by suitable presents, have been the best means of securing their friendship." The consequences of these refusals by the Proprietaries and the Assembly to strengthen each other's measures were more prolonged than in regard to securing the friendship of the wavering Indians, or control over their territory until the outbreak of actual war. We can see the beginning of the long struggle as to taxing the Penn estates, and the leaving open of the field to the claims of Virginia. The French proceeded to drastic measures against the Indians, whom they chose to call rebels. Thirty of the Twightees having been killed, the Shawanees wished to avenge them, but, before doing so, notified the Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania, hoping for approval and aid. Hamilton, knowing that the principles of the Quakers were entirely adverse to assisting in an Indian war, and unwilling to promise what their control over the public funds would render him unable to perform, referred these chiefs to the commissioners from Virginia attending the council appointed by the King of England to be held at Logstown (below Pittsburg) in May, 1752. The Delawares, Shawanees, and Mingoes attended, and entered into a treaty with the Virginia commissioners not to molest English traders south of the Ohio. Tanacharisson, the local head under the Six Nations, and called the Half King, advised the building of a fort at the forks of the Monongahela. Gist, accordingly, laid out a town, and started a fort at Chartier's creek, and began a settlement just beyond Laurel Hill

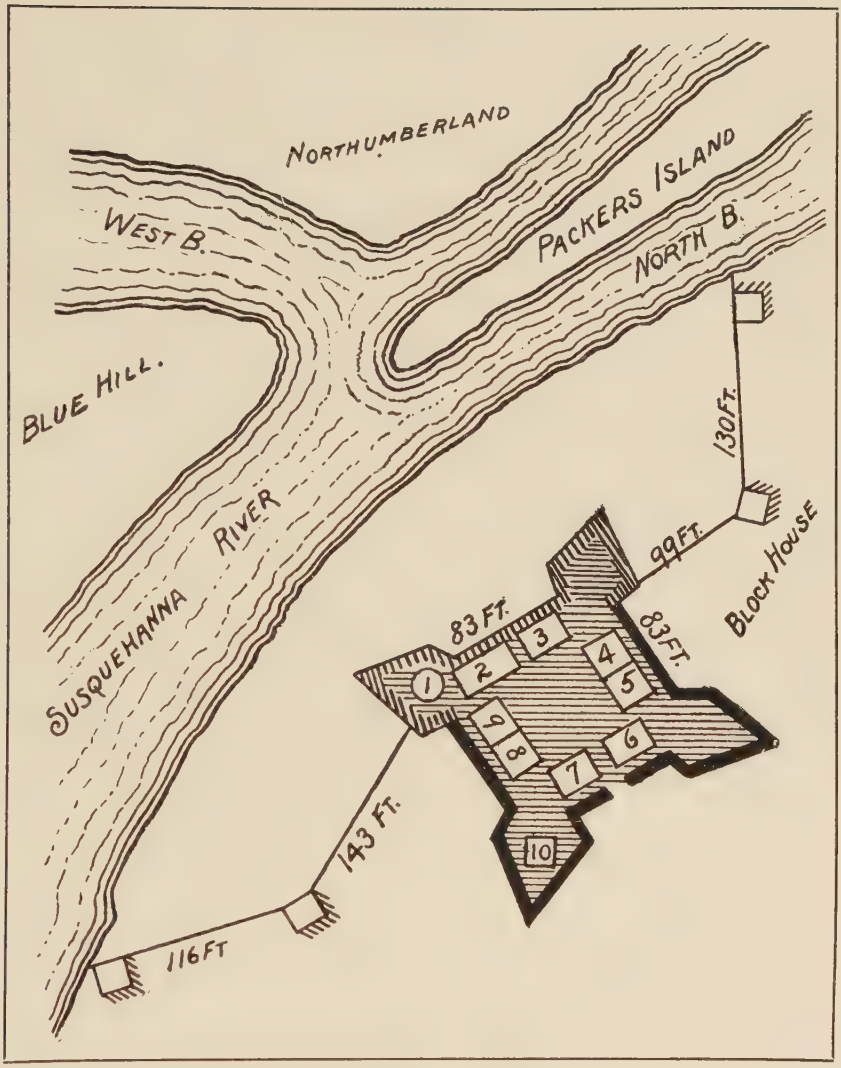
near the Youghiogheny with eleven families. The Ohio Company established also a trading post at Will's creek. The two places first mentioned were within the bounds of Pennsylvania.

John, son of Richard Penn the Proprietary, arrived in December, 1752, to make his home in Pennsylvania. On February 6, 1753, the Lieutenant-Governor proposed his introduction as a member of the Provincial council, and asked the gentlemen present what place they would offer him; whereupon it was unanimously agreed that he should rank as first named, or eldest, councillor, and be President on the death or absence of the Governor. His name first appears upon the minutes in August following.

The Proprietaries directed Hamilton to assist Virginia in erecting any fort on the lands granted to the Ohio Company, taking, however, from the Governor of Virginia an acknowledgment that the settlement should not prejudice the Proprietaries' right to the country, and a promise that those who actually settled should hold the land on the usual quit rent. On tales of the approach of a French army toward the Ohio, Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia suggested that all the colonies raise a proper force to oppose it, and notify the British ministry, after first demanding the reason for such invasion in time of peace from the Governor-General of Canada. The Earl of Holdernesse, Secretary of State, on August 28, 1753, communicated royal instructions that if any foreign prince or state made encroachments, erected forts, or committed any other act of hostility, and persisted after a representation of such injustice, force was to be repelled by force, but only "within the undoubted limits of His Majesty's dominions." All the governors on the continent were to communicate with and support each other.

The French built a fort at Casoago, on French creek, near Venango, and returned a contemptuous answer to the Half-King, who went in person from his home at Logstown to warn them off the land. He was giving the third message, as usual, before taking up the hatchet. The Rev. Richard Peters, Isaac Norris and

Benjamin Franklin, appointed by the Governor of Pennsylvania, met in September at Carlisle a number of the important chiefs of the Six Nations, Delawares, Shawanees, Twightees, and Owendats, on their way from a council with the Governor of Virginia at Winchester. Friendship was confirmed and presents distributed. Scarrooyady, the Oneida, said he supposed that Governor Dinwiddie's desire to build a fort on the Ohio was the cause of the advance of the French troops, and hoped that both Pennsylvania and Virginia would forbear at present from settling beyond the Alleghanies, advising that Pennsylvania call back her people, and duly appoint somebody to meet George Croghan, who was to be the agent on behalf of the Indians, and to whose house at Aughwick, on the Juniata, anything for them could be sent. Scarrooyady also said that the French had been afraid of losing their trade from the unnecessary number of English traders on the Ohio; and he asked that the traders be only in three places—Logstown, and the mouth of the Kanawha, and the mouth of Monongahela; he also represented that the English goods were too dear, and little else was brought to them but liquor and flour, which, he begged, would be regulated, as the whisky traders brought thirty or forty kegs, made the Indians drunk, and got all the skins with which the debts to the honest traders were to be paid. Dinwiddie sent George Washington, then twenty-one years old, with the rank of major in the military organization of Virginia, to have an interview with the commandant of the other fort which the French had built, viz.: on that branch of the Allegheny which they called La Rivière aux Bœufs (in the present Warren county). The commandant, Le Gardeur de St. Pierre, sent Dinwiddie's letter to La Galisonnière's successor, the Marquis Duquesne but told Washington that the country belonged to them; no Englishman had a right to trade upon the Ohio or its branches—and he had orders to arrest any that attempted to do so. William Trent, captain in the Virginia service, directed a fort to be made at the forks of the Monongahela; Governor Dinwiddie



Plan of Fort Augusta

Near Sunbury; erected in 1756. Photographed especially for this work from a copy in possession of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society

summoned his militia to meet at Will's creek, and the Lords of Trade requested the Provinces of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, and New Jersey to send commissioners with presents to the treaty which the Province of New York was to hold with the Indians. The Governor of New York fixed the middle of June as the time and Albany as the place for the treaty. The Assembly of Pennsylvania passed a bill to issue 40,000*l.* in bills of credit on loans; Hamilton offered, if the members were still of opinion that bills of credit were necessary to raise supplies in this time of imminent danger, to agree to such, if a means of sinking them in a few years were provided. Just at this time persons from Connecticut, representing a Susquehanna company formed there, attempted to sell lands north of the 41st degree of latitude, as being embraced in the old patent to that colony, and announced that settlements would shortly be made at Wyoming, on the east branch of the Susquehanna. Governor Dinwiddie, also, upon obtaining 10,000*l.* from his House of Burgesses for troops, issued a proclamation offering, in addition to the pay of those who served to the satisfaction of their officers, shares in 200,000 acres of land, 100,000 contiguous to the fort at the forks of Monongahela, and 100,000 near by, on the east bank of the Ohio, to be free from quit rents for fifteen years. Hamilton was duly protesting against both attempts to take from the Penns slices of their province; while his Assembly was using the uncertainty of the bounds as an excuse for not supporting military measures. Governor Wolcott of Connecticut expressed himself as satisfied that his province wanted no quarrel with Pennsylvania, and highly approved of Hamilton's offer to procure for emigrants from Connecticut grants from the Proprietaries of some of their western land; and Governor Dinwiddie, hoping that soon there would be commissioners appointed by the King to run the line, as he had requested, said that meanwhile the quit rents due after the exemption from them should have expired, could be paid to the Penns.

A small fort having been erected at the forks of the Mohongiola, or Monongahela, by Ensign Ward, of Trent's company, Contrecour, commander of the French troops on the Ohio, appeared with 1,000 men and 18 cannon, and compelled its surrender on April 16, allowing Ward and his men to retire. They fell back to Red Stone creek. Starting from Will's creek with 150 men, and widening the road as they went so as to be passable for cannon, Washington arrived at Great Meadows (in Fayette county), and constructed an entrenchment, which he called Fort Necessity. Dinwiddie had supplied some friendly Indians with arms, and sent a belt with a hatchet by Trent to Scarrooyady. According to the latter's story of the affair which followed on May 28, he and some braves fell in with LaForce and thirty Frenchmen, and refused to hold a council with them, but informed Washington. Differing with him as to strategy, the Indians went away, but soon found the French in a hollow and hid themselves behind a hill, when they noticed Washington's force on the other side of the hollow in the gray light of the morning. He had started out in the night of the 27th. Washington's force began firing, when the Indians came from their cover, and closed with the French, killing ten and handing twenty-one prisoners to Washington. Among those killed was Jumonville, the leader, who, the French said, was bearer of a message, and whose death they called an assassination. LaForce was taken prisoner.

Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, who had offered to assist Pennsylvania in driving the French from her territory, on condition that Pennsylvania should some day reciprocate, suggested that the congress at Albany should be seized as the opportunity for effecting a union of the participating colonies, the commissioners to be empowered to fix the quota of men and money to be furnished by each for the measures they might agree upon. But Governor Hamilton could not obtain from his Assembly authority or appropriation except for renewing the covenant chain with the Indians and holding them in the British interest. John Penn

and Richard Peters, councillors, and Isaac Norris and Benjamin Franklin, assemblymen, represented Pennsylvania at the congress, which began its session June 19, 1754. On the way, Franklin drew up a plan for the union of the colonies, which, with a few amendments, was unanimously adopted, and recommended to the various assemblies and the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations. It provided for a central government, to be administered by a president-general, appointed by the Crown, and a grand council of forty-eight representatives chosen by the Colonial Assemblies, Virginia and Massachusetts each to have the largest number, seven, and Pennsylvania six. The President-General, with the advice of the council, was to make peace or declare war with the Indians, raise soldiers, build forts. and levy taxes. This plan was never brought before the King or Parliament. Hamilton told the Assembly of Pennsylvania that it was "well worthy of their closest and most serious attention," but, one day, when Franklin was absent, it was taken up and promptly rejected. The congress at Albany, however, established peace with the Six Nations, and then made a lengthy representation on the state of the colonies, setting forth the dominion of Great Britain over the country south of Lakes Champlain, Ontario, and Erie, as belonging to the Six Nations, with right in Frenchmen to visit it for trading, also the French aggressions in Nova Scotia, Maine, New Hampshire, and on the rivers running into the Mississippi, and their holding English traders for ransom, and alienating many of the Onondagas and Senecas from the English, and the danger of the whole continent being subjected to France. The representation also pointed out that the colonies were disunited, and there had never been any joint exertion of their force or counsels; that the patenting of large tracts of land to individuals or companies, except on condition of speedy settlement, prevented the strengthening of the frontiers, and that there had been great neglect of the affairs of the Six Nations; the laws of the various colonies, being insufficient to restrain the sup-

ply of liquor, the Indians were frequently drunk and cheated by traders, or else murdering one another, and fleeing to the French; the Indians were not capable of bargaining as to their lands, and, on sales to private persons, were cheated or felt themselves cheated. The representation suggested that an agent, not engaged in trade, should reside with each Indian nation, purchases of land from Indians, except by the government, should be void, the patentees of large tracts should be required to settle them speedily, on pain of forfeiture, the bounds of the colonies extending by the terms of the old charters to the Pacific Ocean should be limited by the Alleghanies, and measures should be taken for settling colonies of Protestants west of those mountains, and there should be a union of the colonies, so that their treasure and strength might be employed in due proportion against the common enemy. The chiefs of the Six Nations then sold to the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania for 1,000 pieces of eight, the land extending on the west side of the Susquehanna from the Blue mountains to a mile above the mouth of Kayarondinhagh (Penn's) creek, thence northwest by west to the western boundary of the Province, thence along the western boundary to the southern boundary, thence along the southern boundary to the Blue mountains, and thence along those mountains to the place of beginning. The deed is dated July 6, 1754. They refused to sell the land on the east branch of the Susquehanna; they had heard there was a dispute between Pennsylvania and New England about it, and they would sell it to neither; but Wyoming and Shamokin and the land contiguous on the river they would reserve for a hunting ground, and for the residence of such of them as should, in this time of war, remove from the French. Accordingly, they appointed John Shickcalamy to take care of this land. On July 9 they confirmed the covenant of 1736 to sell no land within the limits of Pennsylvania except to the Proprietaries.

Meanwhile Captain McKay, with an independent company from South Carolina, had reënforced Washington at Fort Neces-

sity; so that the force there was about 400 men. On July 3, De Villier, of whose approach they were ignorant until the day before, with 900 French and many Indians, bombarded them from eleven in the morning until night, when he offered them terms, which they accepted, to go out with the honors of war the next day, leaving their cannon, and engaging to deliver to Fort Du Quesne the prisoners taken at the time Jumonville was killed. On hearing of this, Governor Dinwiddie ordered his troops gathering for the expedition to meet at Will's creek, and thence proceed to recapture the fort; but, if that should be impossible, then to build a fort at Red Stone creek or elsewhere, as determined by a council of war. He wrote to Hamilton that he wished two or three companies from Pennsylvania. The Assembly voted 15,000*l.* to the King's use the day after this letter was received, amended the bill, at Hamilton's request, so as to enable his successor to receive the money, and, rejecting all other amendments, forced Hamilton to sign the bill, although it was pretty much the same as he had rejected a year before. The Half-King and Scarrooyady, with some other Indians and their families, made their way to Croghan's at Aughwick, and sent messengers to gather in the Delawares and Shawanees, asking that the women and children be supported while the warriors fought for the English, whom they anxiously expected speedily to take decisive steps against the French. Several Delawares who had visited Fort Necessity since its capture also arrived at Croghan's, and through these Robert Strobo, who had been left at Fort Necessity as a hostage, managed to send letters to the effect that 100 trusty Indians might be able to surprise the fort by secreting themselves under the platform behind the palisades, as they had access to the fort all day, and killing the guard with their tomahawks in the night. Contrecour and a guard of 40 men and officers were all that dwelt in the fort; the rest were in bark cabins around; large detachments had been sent off, so the whole force was much reduced. Strobo bravely asked that his safety be not considered. We do not know that the

execution of the scheme was attempted, except that Hamilton wrote to Croghan to let no liquor get to the Indians, to stave in every cask, and furnish the names of all who brought any. Conrad Weiser was sent with 300*l.* to spend for the Indians' support, and keep them friendly. He found twenty cabins containing over 200 men, women, and children at Aughwick, and a number more within a few miles. He received assurances that the Delawares, Shawanees, and allies were friendly, and that the Shawanees, grateful for the return of certain of their people imprisoned in South Carolina, had given no answer to the French, who asked them to assist against the English, or be neutral; and that both tribes would await the orders of the Six Nations. He reported that it was impossible to keep the inhabitants of Cumberland county from selling liquor to the Indians, the magistrates, it was said, selling the most. One old hypocrite coming to Aughwick for the purpose, it was supposed, of collecting the money for what he had sold, said to Weiser that the government should not let any liquor be brought there. Weiser asked if he meant for the Governor himself to come with his sword and pistol to prevent it. No, he did not. "Then," said Weiser, "there is no other way than to break you all and put others in commission who are no whisky traders and will exercise their authority." Tanacharisson complained of the great personage of American history, then first being heard of in England. Washington, a good-natured man without experience, he said, commanded the Indians as his slaves, had them always out scouting, and took no advice from them, lay in one place from one full moon to another, and made no fortifications at all, but "that little thing on the Meadow;" had he made such fortifications as Tanacharisson advised, he would have beaten off the French; the French had acted as great cowards, but the English as fools in that engagement. The Indians would wait at Aughwick until they heard from the new Governor, while Scarrooyady would go in the English interest to the great council fire of the Six Nations.

Remains of Old Magazine at Fort Augusta in 1896

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Hamilton having asked to be superseded, Robert Hunter Morris arrived, October 3, from England. He was son of Lewis Morris, once Governor of New Jersey, and had been himself Chief Justice of that Province. He sent a polite message to the Indians, and the Assembly enabled him to assure them that he would maintain their people left behind while some of them went to Onondaga.

The King of England, although ostensibly at peace with France, decided to send two military expeditions against the latter's subjects, and ordered two regiments of foot, each of 500 men, besides the officers, commanded by Sir Peter Halket and Thomas Dunbar, respectively, to proceed from Ireland to Virginia, and there be increased to 750 men each, and two regiments to be recruited in America of 1,000 men each, to be commanded by Governor Shirley of Massachusetts and Sir William Pepperrell, respectively; towards this enlistment of about 3,000 men and supplying victuals and necessaries for traveling and a common fund for the common defense, Pennsylvania was to do her share. To superintend this war as commander-in-chief in America, Edward Braddock, a general officer of reputation, was sent from England. He was to lead Halket's and Dunbar's regiments and their Provincial auxiliaries against the French on the Ohio, while Shirley and Pepperrell were to carry on campaigns elsewhere. It had been suggested that a certain American governor, recommended for his integrity, who, we suppose, was Dinwiddie, should command the expedition against the Ohio, but King George II said: "A little more ability and a little less honesty upon the present occasion may serve our turn better." Shirley's son, shortly before losing his life as Braddock's secretary, thought it a pity that such a view had not been applied to the case of the very honest Braddock.

Scarrooyady came to Philadelphia, his heart set on war, and arranged for a meeting of the Six Nations at Winchester in the spring. Before he left, John Shickcalamy's belt from Shamokin

arrived with a message that white people from the other side of New York were coming to settle on land at Wyoming and north of the Western branch, over which the Six Nations at the treaty at Albany had given him charge, and that the strangers claimed to have bought it from the Six Nations since the treaty. Scarrooyady was thereupon intrusted with a further message to the Six Nations to the effect that if they had actually sold these lands it was a breach of faith. Some people then beyond the mountains in Northampton county took shares in the Connecticut adventure; but on the other hand Governor Fitch of Connecticut disavowed any authorization for it. About 300 Indians of the Six Nations on the Ohio had fled from the French to the branches of the Susquehanna, and these sent word that they would kill the cattle of any whites who settled there, and if the latter still remained, would treat them as enemies and destroy them. Hendrick Peter, chief of the Mohawks, came to Philadelphia, and planned a general council between the Six Nations and the government of Connecticut to destroy the fraudulent deed under which the intruders claimed. He complained of bad treatment in the matter of land by the government of New York, and told how liberal the French were to the Indians, so much so as to have made some division in the Six Nations; but he and his companions, on leaving Philadelphia, gave hearty thanks for the entertainments and kindness which they had received, declaring that the people of Pennsylvania had treated them like brothers and sisters, and that the Governor could depend upon the fidelity of the Mohawks for counsel or action.

Two hundred Pennsylvanians soon enlisted in the regiment of Governor Shirley, and the Assembly, on the rejection of its first bill to raise 25,000*l.*, intrusted a committee with 5,000*l.*, raised by negotiating drafts bearing interest against the money due the Province, so as to purchase all the flour required for the army expected at Will's creek, where Colonel Innes had made a fort. Sir John St. Clair, a Scotch baronet, the quartermaster, had

already arrived in America. Some years after this he married Miss Moland of Philadelphia. The Assembly, however, was not disposed to lay a tax which would pay off the necessary bills of credit in five years, nor would it grant 40,000*l.* in bills of credit for the raising of troops, both propositions being made by the Lieuten-

House of Conrad Weiser, Reading

Engraved especially for this work from a photograph in possession of Dr. W. J. Holland

ant-Governor and supported by Franklin. Twenty-five thousand pounds were voted, but only 5,000*l.* were subjected to General Braddock's order, the balance to be applied by a committee of the House in the following manner: 5,000*l.* for provisions for the forces in Virginia, 10,000*l.* for provisions for the forces in New England, and 5,000*l.* for subsistence of the refugee Indians, clearing of roads, hire of carriages, and other contingent expenses.

Morris declared that to give the disposition of the public money to members of the Assembly would be inconsistent with his duty to the Crown, and he would show the bill to his superiors in London. The Assembly decided in its turn to appeal to His Majesty, and sent over to England a representation of the case.

To raise without delay the money necessary at this time of imminent danger, the Assembly appointed certain persons to draw drafts to the amount of 10,000*l.* on the provincial treasurer or trustees of the loan office, payable in one year, with interest, and apply these, or, in fact, the proceeds of negotiating these, to the King's use. But the intention of the British government was to have a common fund established by contributions from all the colonies, out of which the additional men for Halket's and Dunbar's regiments and those in Nova Scotia, should be provided for. The Assembly told Morris, on May 20, that, while the bill he had rejected had given Braddock the disposal of 5,000*l.* and appropriated the whole 25,000*l.* for the army's benefit, no other colony, could the members learn, had offered him power over as many pence as they had pounds; and that they could not look upon the Governor as a friend to his country while he was "endeavoring to render the inhabitants of Pennsylvania odious to our gracious sovereign and his ministers, to the British nation, to all the neighboring colonies, and to the army that is come to protect us." British officers were much stirred up against the colony. Sir John St. Clair met the commissioners appointed by Morris to lay out the roads from Carlisle to the three forks of the Youghiogheny and to Will's creek, and, the commissioners said, "stormed like a lion rampant." He declared that they should have been appointed to the work in January, the want of this road and of the provisions promised by Pennsylvania had retarded the expedition, and cost many lives, because of the fresh numbers of French likely to arrive; for his part he would, instead of marching to the Ohio, march in nine days into Cumberland County, and by fire and sword force the inhabitants to make roads, and

would seize horses and wagons, etc.; he would to-morrow write to England, and shake Mr. Penn's Proprietaryship, etc. Benjamin Franklin went to see Braddock to disabuse his mind as to the Assembly, and, meeting him at Frederick, Maryland, succeeded. Then Franklin heard that there had been collected only 25 wagons when 150 were required, to transport the stores, baggage, etc. Braddock and his officers were in despair. Franklin said it was a pity that the troops had not been landed in Pennsylvania, where every farmer had his wagon. Braddock at once begged Franklin, as a man of influence there, to procure what was indispensable. Franklin went to Lancaster, published an offer of 15*s.* a day for each wagon with a driver and four horses, and 2*s.* a day for each horse with a pack saddle or other saddle, and 18*d.* for a horse without a saddle, all to be at Will's creek by May 20, seven days' pay to be advanced, if desired, at the time of hiring, the drivers not to serve as soldiers. Franklin stayed several days in Lancaster and two days in York to receive offers; his son attending to the offers in Cumberland County. A letter signed by that wonderful man showed the people of the back counties that here was a chance for obtaining a large amount of gold and silver currency for easy work by those who served in it, and that if this plan did not succeed in fourteen days, the General would be notified and the soldiers would seize the best carriages and horses, and, perhaps, without compensation. The wagons were secured. The owners said that they did not know Braddock, but would take Franklin's bond. At his suggestion, moreover, the committee of the Assembly sent twenty packs of groceries on horses to as many subaltern officers, these arriving as soon as the wagons. Rev. Richard Peters, secretary of the Governor's Council, who went to hurry the construction of the roads, found 108 men at work, but the commissioners discouraged for want of cash, "rum and carriage" being too high, he agreed for what was necessary at moderate prices. He ordered the road to be cut no wider than twelve feet, and only the one to the forks

with 800 men the next day, leaving to follow them some days later Colonel Dunbar, Major Chapman, and the residue of the two regiments with some independent companies, women, etc. From Governor Sharpe's letter we learn that before June 22, the advance guard discovered a small body of French, who captured Scarrooyady, but on the troops coming up fell back and let him escape. From Edward Shippen's letter we learn that St. Clair beat off 200 or 300 French Indians. The 1,200, "halting to level every mole hill and erect bridges over every brook," made only twelve miles in four days. Washington, who was too sick to go on horseback, was left behind, but rejoined Braddock on July 8. On the 9th this force, largely of regular troops, was attacked by 250 French and 650 Indians, just after it had crossed the Monongahela, the second time that day, about seven miles from Fort DuQuesne. The British army was in three divisions. The first, of 300 men with two cannon, had been sent across the river under Thomas Gage, then Lieutenant-Colonel, afterwards the celebrated General, to secure the house and plantation of James Frazier, a trader, not far from a run named after him. On finding the river muddy, Gage suspected that it had just been crossed by the enemy, and, on crossing, he found many footprints; so he warned Braddock, although possessing himself of the plantation without opposition. The second division, being the road makers, 200 strong, under St. Clair, was closely following, and the remaining 800 under Braddock himself with the artillery had made the crossing, when Gage's 300, ascending a hill at a place where a ravine on each side concealed the foe, were suddenly fired at from behind trees and bushes. There are various accounts of the battle. If the reader takes up that written by Orme, the aid-de-camp, and published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, let it be remembered that Orme's influence over his General was blamed for the result. When the British returned the enemy's fire, 100 Canadian militiamen, being nearly half the whites at the attack, ran away, crying

"Sauve qui peut," and headed by two cadets. Braddock hurried forward with Burton and 400 men, while at the third volley of musketry, Beaujeu, the French commander, was killed, and with the bringing of cannon into play, the savages retired from within range. Dumas ordered them to attack on the flank. Charles Langlade led them. The British found themselves assailed from nearly all directions, their fire apparently making no impression, the enemy apparently in vast numbers, their own officers falling. Those familiar with Indian warfare wished to distribute themselves among the trees, but Braddock would not permit it, even striking some of them with his sword and calling them cowards. His secretary, Governor Shirley's son, was killed, two of his aids-de-camp were wounded. Washington, his other aid-de-camp, had two horses shot under him, and four bullet holes in his coat. St. Clair was wounded. Halket, who had command of the rear well posted, Orme says, around the baggage, was killed, and his men ran back in confusion. The wagoneers, separating the horses they mounted from the rest of the teams, abandoned everything. The provincial soldiers behaved very well. The French captured the artillery, and the English recaptured it, but could not bring it away owing to the loss of the horses. The regulars, however, in the confusion, half the time seeing no enemy, became panic stricken, gathering into groups and firing at friend and foe alike before precipitate flight, nor could they be rallied to save the lighter things. The officers, united in squads or else singly, advanced against the enemy, as an example to the common soldiers; but only sacrificed themselves. In the course of three hours sixty officers were killed or wounded. Braddock himself was mortally wounded. His money, papers, and letters were among the loot secured by the victors. Only about 300 sound men remained to retreat and unite with Dunbar, who, impeded with the heavy baggage, was in camp forty miles behind. Braddock was carried to Great Meadows, where he died on the 13th. Before day-

break his body was buried, Washington reading the burial service. Dunbar did not feel strong enough to confront the enemy, and so, after destroying his ammunition and most of his provisions, moved back to Fort Cumberland; and the 100 men guarding those employed in cutting the road were notified to make no

Chimney Rocks

Blair County; said to have been a resort of Chief Logan and his Indians

further advance, but join him at the same fort. Thus the country west of the Alleghanies was left to the French and their Indian allies, who were free, moreover, to reinforce those who were opposing the English expedition to Niagara. Greater still was the dismay when Dunbar decided to take the remains of the two regiments to Philadelphia and spend the winter there. Leaving the independent companies to garrison the fort and take care of 400 wounded, he with 1,200 men, an ample army in those days

to protect the frontier, started for the safest part of the Province, against the protest of the Governor and Assembly, and with the population west of the Susquehanna forsaking their houses and unusually good crops.

Morris, finding that the Assembly, in raising money for defence, was likely to tax the Proprietary estates, thought he might create some popularity for his superiors, as well as promote recruiting, by offering land as an additional encouragement to those who would enlist in an expedition against the French on the Ohio; he therefore sent a message to the Assembly on July 20, promising 1,000 acres to a colonel, 750 to a lieutenant-colonel, 500 to a captain, 400 to a lieutenant or ensign, and 200 to a common soldier, on condition of settlement in three years after the removal of the French, to be free of quit rent for fifteen years from March 1, 1756. Morris, after starting a fort at Carlisle and another at Shippensburg, and forming four companies of militia, wrote to Dunbar and to Governor Shirley, who had succeeded Braddock as commander-in-chief, asking that such troops as were not needed at Fort Cumberland be posted at Carlisle, Shippensburg, and McDowell's Mill, at which last named place the new road to the Alleghanies began. The Assembly passed a bill on August 5, to raise 50,000*l.* for the King's use by a tax for two years of 12*d.* yearly per *l.* on all estates, real and personal, and 20*s.* yearly per head on all taxables. Morris proposed an amendment exempting the Proprietary estates. The Assembly asked whether he was restricted by the Proprietaries' instructions against passing the bill as it stood, or he himself was of opinion that the amendment was right. Morris replied that his commission contained a proviso that he should not have power to do or consent to an act whereby the estate or property of the Proprietaries might be hurt or incumbered; therefore he deemed that any law contrary to such proviso would be void; he, moreover, would have thought it his duty to have the estates exempted, because, 1st, all Governors hereditary or otherwise were exempt;

2nd, a law of the Province expressly declared such estates not liable for rates and taxes; 3rd, the Proprietaries having by their Governor consented to a law vesting in the people the choice of persons to assess and lay taxes in the several counties, without reserving any negative over such choice, it would be unreasonable to empower such persons to tax these estates at discretion; 4th, to tax them was contrary to the general practice in such governments. The reader would doubtless agree with the Assembly's declaiming against the injustice, had we space to make extracts from its well prepared messages. The law of the province then in force exempting the estates, concerned levies for paying assemblymen's wages and rewards for killing wolves, crows, and foxes and other purposes more immediately for the benefit of the inhabitants. As to what seems the strongest point made by Morris, that the Proprietaries had no voice in choosing the assessors, the latter, it was shown, were bound by oath or affirmation to value the lands impartially, and the Proprietaries had enough officers and dependents in every county to cast a proportion of the whole vote for assessors equal to their proportion of the tax. Morris on August 9 asked the Assembly to pass a militia law. On the 16th, as the treasury was exhausted, Morris told the Assembly that he would pass a bill for striking any sum in paper money that the present exigencies might require, if such paper money was to be sunk in five years.

Shirley, on August 12, ordered Dunbar to make a further attempt to capture Fort Duquesne with the troops he had, and such reinforcements as Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia should raise; and, if successful, after garrisoning it, to proceed against Fort Presque Isle; if unsuccessful in both attempts, then to cover the frontier of Pennsylvania. Morris, on hearing this, despaired of raising any colonial troops; nothing, he felt, would be appropriated by the Assembly, and Maryland and Virginia would not act if Pennsylvania held back; so he advised Dunbar to come to Philadelphia, whence he could either go on to Albany,

or, if the Duquesne expedition were practicable, go easily to Carlisle and meet the reinforcements there; he thought Niagara the most important point to possess.

Dunbar and his troops spent about a month in Philadelphia, receiving many recruits. By General Shirley's order he could not accept any indentured servants who offered themselves. When, some time later, to hasten the filling up of certain regiments, this order was rescinded, the masters complained to the Assembly, and the latter to the Lieutenant-Governor, saying that it presumed no colony on the continent had furnished more free recruits than Pennsylvania, where great numbers had been raised for Shirley's and Pepperrell's regiments, for Halket's and Dunbar's, for the New York and Carolina Independent Companies, for Nova Scotia, and even for the West Indies. If the property in the service of indentured persons were not respected the people would be driven to buy negro slaves, of which there were few here, and the Province, instead of growing by the increase of white inhabitants, would be weakened, as every slave was a domestic enemy.

CHAPTER XV.

THE REVOLT OF THE DELAWARES

PARKMAN has pointed out that the real interests of the savages lay with the French, who wished only to trade, that is apart from their spiritual purposes; whereas the English were settlers, who would build towns, turn the land into farms, drive away the game, and crowd out those who lived by hunting. Charles Thomson, afterwards secretary of Congress, who acted as clerk to the Delaware king, declared that the purchase made at Albany, as to which they were not consulted, had thrown the Indians to the west of Pennsylvania entirely open to temptation by the French; for by it the lands where the Shawanees and Ohio Indians lived, and the hunting ground of the Delawares, Nanticokes, and Tuteloes, were included, and those nations had nothing to expect but to see themselves violently driven, by the rate at which the English settled, and reduced to seek a settlement they knew not where.

After Braddock's defeat, the protection of the frontiers of Pennsylvania being left to the inhabitants themselves, they rapidly formed companies, designated their own officers, and received commissions for them from Lieutenant-Governor Morris; and Scarrooyady and many other Indians went to Shamokin to live, or at least to hunt, during the ensuing season. An Indian from the Ohio warned Croghan that in his opinion the Indians would do no mischief in Pennsylvania until they could draw all the other Indians out of the province, and away from the Susquehanna, as

they were industriously endeavoring to do, and that when he should see those on the Susquehanna go back to the Ohio, then to look out for his scalp. It was found that Shawanees and Delawares had been ravaging the neighborhood of Fort Cumberland on both sides of the Potomac. In the middle of October two French Indians of the Conewago tribe were seen near Shamokin. A few evenings after this, a "Pennsylvania Dutch" woman, on her way from there to her home on Mahanoy, or Penn's, Creek, saw two persons lying by the door of a neighbor's house murdered and scalped. Several Dutch families, hearing this, left their habitations immediately. When it was found that about thirteen men and older women had been murdered, and twelve women and children carried into captivity, one wounded man escaping, terror drove away nearly all the people living for miles about the creek, seventeen men, however, petitioning the Governor for guns and ammunition, with which to make a stand. A party of forty set out from lower down the Susquehanna to bury the dead, not knowing that others had done so, and were informed by Shickcalamy that a great body of French and Indians had been seen on its way into the province at a place where the Northwest Branch passes through the Alleghanies. Shickcalamy urged a consultation with the Indians at Shamokin, and these were visited, and a gathering for a council was noticed. Many Delawares, strangers to those parts, had arrived, all painted black. While spending the night there, Adam Terrence overheard Delawares talking to this effect: "What have they come here for?" "To kill us, I suppose." "Can not we, then, send off some of our nimble young men to give our friends notice, that can soon be here?" Then they sang a war song, and four went off in two canoes, one down the Susquehanna, the other across. The majority of the white men, urged by the half-breed, Andrew Montour, to march home along the east side of the river, thought it wiser to choose the west bank. By the mouth of Mahanoy Creek they were fired at by Indians, some of whom uttered words in the Delaware tongue,

and several of the white men were killed, besides four or five drowned in retreating across the river. The same day, or the next, the enemy crossed the Susquehanna, and killed many people, from Thomas McKee's down to Hunter's mill. But the people of Tulpehocken and Heidelberg townships, Berks county, who marched with Conrad Weiser, could not meet any one to whom to give battle. The gathering at Shamokin was to inform the Indians there that the Delawares on the Ohio had taken the hatchet against the English, and to warn all who would not join them to move away, and go up the North East Branch to Nescopecken. In council Paxanosa of Wyoming, chief of the Shawanees, spoke boldly in favor of the English. The Delawares at last told him that if he said any more they would knock him on the head. A certain Delaware spoke against the French, but was silenced, and it was agreed to go to Nescopecken, which accordingly became the headquarters for those on the war path. Those faithful to the English feared not only the Ohio Delawares, but the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania, and so about thirty retired to Wyoming. Governor Morris had no arms or ammunition to give to the people of Berks or Lancaster county, who were ready enough to defend themselves. Weiser and others on October 31, conveying a report that the people at Aughwick and Juniata had been cut off, wrote: "If we are not immediately supported, we must not be sacrificed, and therefore are determined to go down with all that will follow us to Philadelphia, and quarter ourselves on its inhabitants, and wait our fate with them." Parsons reported murders just over the mountains from his place. Harris and others at Paxton, at 12 o'clock of the same night that Weiser wrote, summoned "all His Majesty's subjects in Pennsylvania and elsewhere" to repair to the frontiers, to intercept the whole body of Indians actually encamped this side of Gabriel's on the Susquehanna, ready to strike within three days, while a French fort was about to be established at Shamokin, with the consent of the Indians there. A few days afterwards, the settlements at

the Great Cove were reduced to ashes, and numbers murdered or taken prisoner; about two-thirds of the people in the Conegohege Valley fled. One hundred men and women went for succor to the Sheriff of Cumberland county. No Frenchmen were among these Indians, who were Delawares and Shawanees commanded

Moravian Bake Oven, Northampton County

Built about 1760; from negative made by J. F. Sachse in 1895

by Shingass. John Armstrong wrote from Carlisle that nothing but a chain of block houses along the south side of the Kittatinny mountains from Susquehanna to the temporary line, would secure the lives and property of even the old inhabitants of the county, the new settlements being all deserted except those in Sheerman's Valley, which might suffer very soon. All this being laid before the Assembly, the latter only answered with a request to the Gov-

ernor to inform the House if he knew of any injury which the Delawares and Shawanees had received to alienate their affections, and whether he knew the part taken by the Six Nations in relation to this incursion. On November 7, an address of some of the Quakers, signed by Anthony Morris and twenty-two others, was presented to the Assembly, expressing willingness to contribute towards the exigencies of government, and their desire that proper funds be raised to cultivate friendship with Indians, to support fellow subjects in distress, and for such like benevolent purposes, but apprehension that the putting of money in the hands of committees who might apply it to purposes inconsistent with the peaceable testimony professed by the petitioners, might necessitate many among them to suffer, rather than consent by paying such tax. By a vote in which James Pemberton, Joseph Trotter, Joshua Morris, Thomas Cummings, William Peters (not the brother of the Rev. Richard), Peter Worrall, and Francis Parvin were in the opposition, the House the next day passed a bill granting 60,000*l.* from a tax on estates, whereby the question of the taxation of the Proprietary estates was left to the King. The councillors unanimously opposed accepting this. At this juncture Scarrooyady came to town, and asked if the people of Pennsylvania would join him in fighting, yes or no; if they would not, then he and his 300 friends would go elsewhere for protection, there was no time to lose. The Governor explained that the Assembly had the power to decide the question; and later explained how the controversy with that body stood, and that he did not know what to do. Scarrooyady heard this with amazement, and said that it would cause the absolute defection of the Delawares, but, as for his own services, he still offered them, and desired the Governor not to be cast down, but to keep cool. Finally, Morris sent Scarrooyady to the Six Nations to report the conduct of the Delawares; and then pointed out to the Assembly that the King's practice was to approve or reject an act as a whole, and suggested that they make the taxation of the Proprietary estate

the subject of a separate bill, the assessment to be not by the assessors, but by commissioners, to be chosen by the House and himself, and named in the bill. This proposition was rejected, after Indians had come through Talihaio Gap in the Kittatinny mountains, and killed several persons on guard there, and attacked a company at Tulpehocken, eighteen miles from Reading.

In November there arrived from Nova Scotia 168 men, women, and children, who claimed to be neutrals in any war between England and France, having been of French birth or descent, but who were suspected of giving information and provisions to the French and Indians, and so considered dangerous in that colony. Morris ordered the vessels bringing these to lie below the city, and placed guards upon them to prevent any escape, and furnished provisions. Subsequently these unfortunates were distributed through the counties to be cared for and supplied with the means of earning a livelihood.

On November 20 the Assembly sent to the Governor a militia bill, entitled "An act for the better ordering and regulating such as are willing and desirous to be united for military purposes within this Province," which, notwithstanding its unsatisfactory terms, was accepted by the Governor as better than nothing, and under which companies of volunteers were rapidly formed.

On November 21 the Indians came as far as the Moravian village of Gnadenhutten in Northampton county, killed six persons, and burned the dwelling houses, meeting-house, and other buildings, with all the grain, hay, horses, and about forty head of cattle under cover. About fourteen Christian red men dwelling there fled with their wives and children to Bethlehem.

While William Moore of Moore Hall, Chester county, holding a commission as colonel, was writing word that 2,000 inhabitants of that county were preparing to come to Philadelphia to compel the Governor and Assembly to pass laws for defending the Province, and Weiser was sending information of a considerable number ready to come from Berks County, a letter, dated October 4,

arrived from Thomas Penn, enclosing an order on the Receiver-General for 5,000*l.*, as a gift for the public service, to be paid to such persons as the Assembly and Governor should agree upon, in lieu of taxes upon the Proprietary estates. This was accepted, while the Indians were burning the Moravian village at Mahanoy, and killing all the white people there but two. Penn desired the tax bill to say nothing about the gift, but simply exempt the estates, but Morris overlooked this, and passed the "act for granting 60,000*l.* to the King's use, and for striking 55,000*l.* thereof in bills of credit," etc., which declared that, in consideration of the 5,000*l.*, the Proprietary estates should be exempt from the tax thereby levied. The expenditure of the money was to be by the Governor and a majority of the commissioners, viz.: Norris (the Speaker), Hamilton and Mifflin of the Governor's Council, and Franklin, Joseph Fox, John Hughes, and Evan Morgan, assemblymen. Ravages continued in Northampton county in December, laying waste the country to within twenty miles of Easton. A guard of forty men, erecting a fort at Gnadenhutten, was attacked and nearly annihilated, and seven farm houses between that place and Nazareth burnt, on the 1st of January, 1756. Franklin, as commissioner, later in the month, marched with several companies to Gnadenhutten and completed the fort, which was called Fort Allen. It was the advance post in that direction of a line of forts and blockhouses which the commissioners established along the foot of the Blue mountains from the Delaware river to the Maryland line. There were then over 500 militiamen in Northampton County, besides about forty regular soldiers sent by General Shirley. About forty more regulars were at Reading. Certain of the Conestoga Indians, having been friendly, were allowed to remain on the manor of that name, while to some belonging to the Six Nations a home was given on Pennsbury manor. The House, on March 19, passed an act by which provincial volunteers serving with regulars should be liable like them to the terms of the act of Parliament regulating them, but no

court martial should put any one to death without submitting the case to the Governor. The Delawares, forcing even John Shickcalamy to go against the English, sent representatives to the Six Nations to justify their conduct, but were condemned and ordered to desist. On hearing this, and seeing that it so far had not deterred the enemy, the Lieutenant-Governor, to meet barbarity with barbarity, gave a hatchet to Scarrooyady, as a declaration of war against the Delawares, and obtained an offer in writing from Commissioners Fox, Hamilton, Morgan, Mifflin, and Hughes to pay as a reward for every male Indian prisoner over ten years old $150; for every female Indian prisoner over ten or male under ten, $130; and for the scalp of every male Indian over ten, $130; and for the scalp of every Indian woman, $50! A fort was to be built at Shamokin, as a rallying place for Scarrooyady's followers. Captain Alexander Culbertson and about fifty men attacked Indians going with captives taken from McCord's Fort, and lost many killed and wounded, on April 9. On April 12 an address from Quakers was presented to the Governor, signed by Samuel Powell, Anthony Morris, John Reynell, Samuel Preston Moore, Israel Pemberton, and John Smith, at the request of many of their brethren, beseeching that before war were declared, some further attempts be made by pacific measures to reduce the Indians to a sense of duty. William Logan asked for a full meeting of the Council that evening; and ten members came, of whom all but three had been brought up as Quakers, and all but four still considered themselves such: yet all except Logan agreed to war without delay. Scarrooyady was drunk for two days. A great body of the inhabitants of the back counties were assembling at Lancaster to come to Philadelphia and force the passage of the laws which they thought were called for by the exigency of affairs. With difficulty were they deterred. Proclamation of the war was made April 14. Then Scarrooyady announced, to the disappointment of the government, that he and all the Indians with him except three would go to the Six Nation country to leave the

women and children there, and return with warriors after the completion of the Shamokin fort. Some of the Quakers, talking to Conrad Weiser, the Provincial interpreter, were confirmed in their surmise that some dissatisfaction respecting land had tended to alienate the affections of the Delawares, and that it was still possible to make peace with them, Weiser afterwards recommend-

First American Home of John James Audubon

Mill Grove Farm, Montgomery County; built 1762. Engraved for this work from a negative by D. E. Brinton

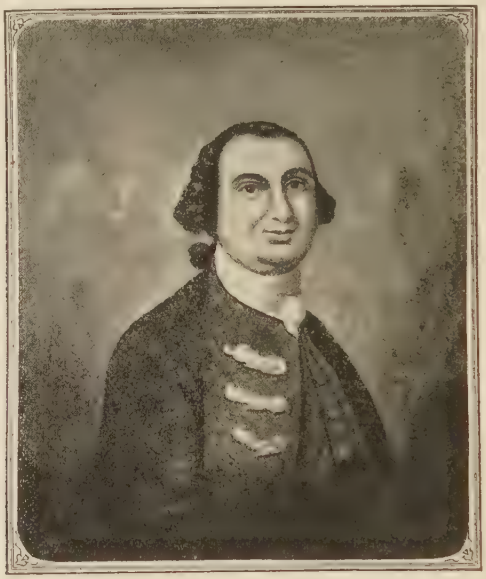
ing a certain Indian living in New Jersey as a messenger to them. Israel Pemberton conveyed to Governor Morris an offer to send such messenger at the expense of himself and co-religionists, as their private undertaking. With Morris's consent, several of the chiefs of the Six Nations then in town, with Weiser and Montour, who was the other Provincial interpreter, and Daniel Claus, secretary to General Johnson, dined with some of the Quakers at the house of one of them, and were made acquainted with the principles of the Society of Friends as to war, and this project, in

pursuance of those principles. Scarrooyady was pleased with it. Weiser advised calling together as many survivors as possible of the first settlers, men who had so long lived in amity with the Delawares, to have another meeting, and give a belt of wampum. Morris was asked to direct the proceeding. About twenty persons had further conferences with the Indians, and it was agreed to send three messengers to the Delawares, to induce them to lay down their arms and send back their captives, after which the Quakers would act as mediators with the government. Those who were urging peace were vindicated by news from Johnson that the Six Nations had succeeded in bringing the Delawares to compliance with their orders and readiness to surrender captives. So the three Indians whom Scarrooyady left behind, Newcastle and Jagrea of the Six Nations and William Lacquis, a Delaware, were sent in the Governor's name to the Delawares on the Susquehanna, and held a meeting with them at Tioga, or Tiaogon, and received an apology. Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, raised to a baronetcy for his victory over Dieskau in September, 1755, thought Morris's declaration of war impolitic; and, by proclamation of June 3, repeated several times, hostilities were suspended except as to the Delawares on the Ohio.

A petition having been forwarded to the King about the end of the year 1755, setting forth the distressed and defenceless state of the Province, and praying His Majesty to take it into consideration, and interpose his authority that so important a Province, situated in the center of the American dominions, might be put into a posture of defense, it came before the Lords of Trade and Plantations; they were attended by Paris, solicitor for the petitioners, with his counsel, York and Forrester, and by Joshua Sharp, solicitor for the Assembly of Pennsylvania, with his counsel, Henly and Pratt, and by the agents of the Province, and by several of the Society of Friends. Argument was presented that the Proprietaries had by the charter power to defend the Province, as well as the plea for the Assembly that 55,000*l.*

had been granted to the King's use, and a militia law been passed for regulating those willing to enlist. The Lords reported March 3, 1756, that there was little room to hope that the words "other purposes for the King's use" would be construed to include military measures by those who had the sole disposition of the money, that is, a committee of an Assembly principled against war; and that the prohibition of minors enlisting, and the restriction against the companies being compelled to go more than three days' march beyond the inhabited parts of the Province, were, with the voluntary and elective and insubordination features of the militia system, mischievous; the legislature of Pennsylvania was not exempted from the general law of nature and society to defend the government and those who were its subjects, but was obliged by the charter to the Proprietaries' father to assist them in so doing; but there was no reason to hope that proper measures would be taken while the majority of the Assembly consisted of persons, representing not one-sixth of the population, not bound by any oath, principled against military service, and even declaring it a violation of the Constitution to compel persons to bear arms, or provide for those who did; therefore, there was no remedy in the Lords' opinion but an act of Parliament, as suggested by the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General in 1744, for depriving those who held such views of their power to control the legislature. Accordingly, a bill was prepared excluding from seats in any legislative assembly in America all persons who refused to take an oath prescribed in the bill. Members of the Society of Friends induced the government not to push this through Parliament that session, applying to a prominent peer, who assisted them upon the condition, which he suggested, that the utmost endeavors be used with the Pennsylvania Quakers to induce them to decline being chosen to the Assembly during what was then the situation of affairs. This the Meeting for Sufferings in London communicated to the brethren in Philadelphia, even sending over two visiting Friends to use their influence. Meanwhile, on June

4, 1756, James Pemberton and Joshua Morris, members from Philadelphia county, William Callender from the City, William Peters from Chester county, Peter Worrall from Lancaster, and Francis Parvin from Berks, resigned their seats in the Assembly,



Henry Bouquet

Soldier; coöperated with General Forbes against Fort Duquesne, 1758; with his command relieved Forts Ligonier, Bedford and Pitt, 1763. Photographed especially for this work from a painting by Benjamin West

giving as a reason that many of their constituents seemed of opinion that the situation of affairs called upon their representatives for services "in a military way," which, from a conviction of judgment after mature deliberation, they could not comply

with. At the October election, however, Mahlon Kirkbride and William Hoge of Bucks county, and Peter Dicks and Nathaniel Pennock of Chester county, although of the same religious persuasion as the seven, were returned. This was without solicitation on the part of these four, and, to avoid all question, they resigned.

On July 11, 1756, Sir William Johnson received the submission of the head of the Delawares on the Susquehanna, in presence of the deputies of the Six Nations, and his promise to surrender captives, and to endeavor to withdraw from the French those of his nation who had gone to live in the neighborhood of Fort Duquesne. He and Paxanosa, head of the Shawanees, received the war belt from Johnson, and solemnly danced the war dance.

The King of England, having appointed the Earl of Loudoun as commander-in-chief of the forces in North America, and ordered two regiments of foot and a train of artillery to embark for the defence of the colonies, undertook to fill up another regiment with recruits from America, calling it the Royal American Regiment, and recommended that out of the funds raised for the public service, masters should be repaid the purchase money paid by them for the labor of servants who might enlist. On May 27, 1756, he formally declared war against France, an act which was not known in Pennsylvania until about two months afterwards. The retirement of the seven Quakers from the Assembly destroyed the opposition to war, but left the question of popular rights and the poor man's interests to stand in the way of providing money to prosecute it.

The 60,000*l.* being spent, the Assembly passed an act to raise 40,000*l.* by a tax which was leviable upon the Proprietary estates, but Morris rejected it, as well as an act to continue the excise, because in the latter there was not the provision required by the eleventh instruction from the Proprietaries that the Governor should have a joint power with the Assembly in disposing of the money.

The Indians continued their depredations in Cumberland county. Captain Jacobs, one of the heads of the Delawares on the Ohio, and several Frenchmen with a number of savages attacked Fort Granville (now Lewiston), commanded by Lieutenant Armstrong, and took it on August 1st, after several days' siege and set it on fire; the garrison had been two days without water, and the brave Armstrong, who had often refused to surrender, had been killed. Most of the country was evacuated, and York county became an exposed frontier, where if the enemy came, he would find subsistence to supply many thousand men. Never had there been a more abundant harvest. The people of Cumberland, guarded by detachments of troops, had been reaping it, when they heard of the taking of Fort Granville, and left to rot whatever they had not gotten in. Fort Shirley at Aughwick was threatened with a larger attacking force: it had no well, getting its water from a stream at the foot of a high bank to the eastward. Captain Jacobs said he could take any fort that would catch fire, and would make peace with the English only when they had taught him to manufacture gunpowder.

Teedyuscung, living at Tioga Point, and vested with something like vice-regal authority, was the chief of the Delawares who, according to John Shickcalamy, had stirred up the Indians. The messengers sent at the instigation of the Quakers brought him back with them as far as Bethlehem, he selling an English female prisoner for a horse to make the journey. The messengers induced Morris to meet him in council at Easton, and informed the Quakers active in the matter that their presence also was necessary. Owing to the low state of the public funds, and the refusal of the Proprietaries' agents to contribute, the Quakers raised a considerable sum, and followed Morris to Easton, and at Morris's lodgings met Teedyuscung, who expressed his confidence in them, and his unwillingness to proceed to business without their attendance. The council arranged for a larger one. On July 30, the presents were delivered, and it was explained that

part came from the Quakers as a testimony of their regard, and of their desire to promote peace. A large entertainment was given to the fifteen chiefs, etc., and was attended by the officers of the Royal American Regiment, as well as of the Provincial forces, and the magistrates and freeholders and Quakers, to the great delight of Teedyuscung. After dinner, the Quakers went home. Morris authorized Teedyuscung and Captain Newcastle to summon all the Indians they could for the later treaty. After setting out, Teedyuscung returned to the neighborhood of Bethlehem, bought liquor, and was constantly drunk, and told Indians there that other Indians would come in three weeks, and destroy them and the white people, and not to let the white people know. Finally he started for Tioga Point.

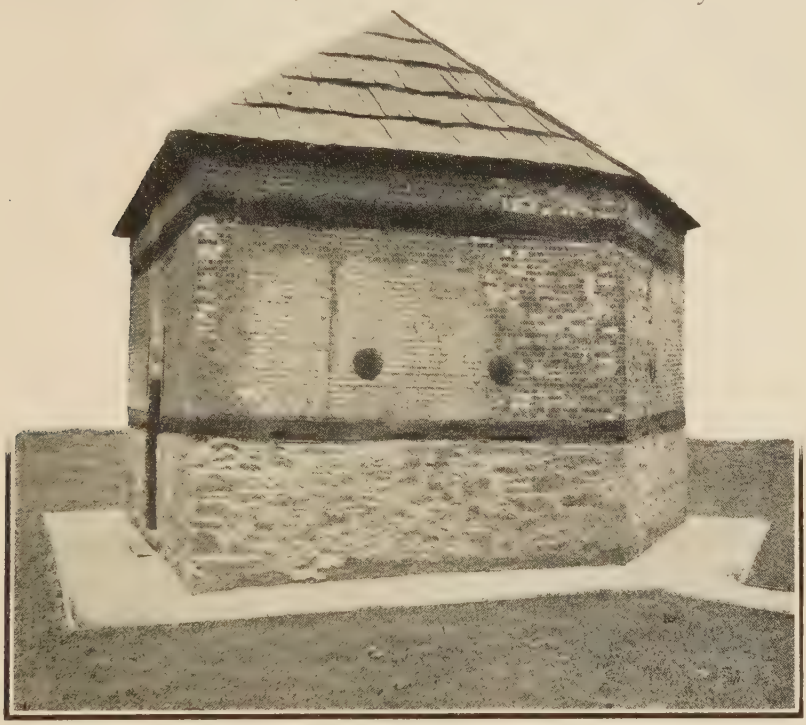
William Denny, an army officer, assumed the duties of Governor on August 20, Morris having asked to be relieved. Upon appointment Denny gave the Proprietaries a bond in 5,000*l.* penalty to comply with their instructions. These, among other restrictions forbade him from passing any act whereby the interest from loans of paper money or the revenue from excise should be applied except to the purposes of the act, or by a vote of Assembly approved by the Governor; moreover, he was not to add more than 40,000*l.* to the 80,000*l.* paper money outstanding. Any land tax was to be created only for one year, and laid upon the annual rent or yearly value only, calling three per cent. of the selling value the yearly value of lands occupied by the owners; and all unoccupied and unimproved lands and all Proprietary quit rents were to be exempted, and the rate not to be more than 4*s.* per *l.* of such annual value. It seems strange that the Proprietaries could make themselves believe that such a tax by being honestly levied would yield the amount for which the British generals were clamoring.

An expedition had been planned by Morris against Kittanning, the headquarters of the Delawares on the Ohio, where Shingass and Captain Jacobs were leaders. There the prisoners

from Fort Granville were taken, and one of them at once burnt. Morris had given the command to Colonel John Armstrong, under whom were to serve the companies of Hans Hamilton, Hugh Mercer, Edward Ward, and James Potter. These started from Fort Shirley on the last of August, and arrived before Kittanning on the night of September 7, without being discovered, leaving a few miles back a dozen men under Lieutenant Hogg with the horses and knapsacks, under orders to attack at daybreak some Indians seen around a camp-fire. When morning came, Armstrong with most of his men, being on the Allegheny below the town, attacked the lower end of it and the cornfield, and, with considerable loss, set fire to most of the buildings, and caused the explosion of quantities of gunpowder, and the unaimed discharge of loaded cannon. Captain Jacobs fell killed out of his garret window. Numbers of Indians were shot or blown up, and goods sent by the French destroyed, while captives escaped. Armstrong was wounded, and, learning that a body of Indians had not long previously left the town and that two batteaux of French were expected that day, was afraid that not only his retreat would be cut off, but that Lieutenant Hogg's force would be overwhelmed; and so the victors, with a dozen scalps, started back with their wounded. Captain Mercer, who early in the action had been wounded in the arm, and about twelve men became separated from the rest. It was found that the Indians whom Hogg was to attack turned out to be a large force, and three of his men had been killed, the rest running away, while he, three times wounded, had afterwards died, the horse he had been put upon carrying him some miles away. Those who were left of Armstrong's army, most of the horses being lost, kept close together, daily expecting attack, until they reached Fort Littleton. Mercer moreover lived to become distinguished.

After many conferences with the Speaker and Franklin, Denny felt compelled to agree to the Assembly's bill for raising 30,000*l.* by an excise; the only point he gained was the striking

out of the clause appropriating the fines usually paid to him and to the City Corporation. The King repealed the two laws relating to the militia. Denny having ordered Fort Shirley to be evacuated as untenable, and decided to demolish many of the



Old Block House at Pittsburgh

Built 1764; restored by the Pittsburgh Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution

little forts, and to concentrate the garrisons at the stronger ones, asked the new Assembly for a suitable militia law, and one was duly agreed upon and enacted on November 3.

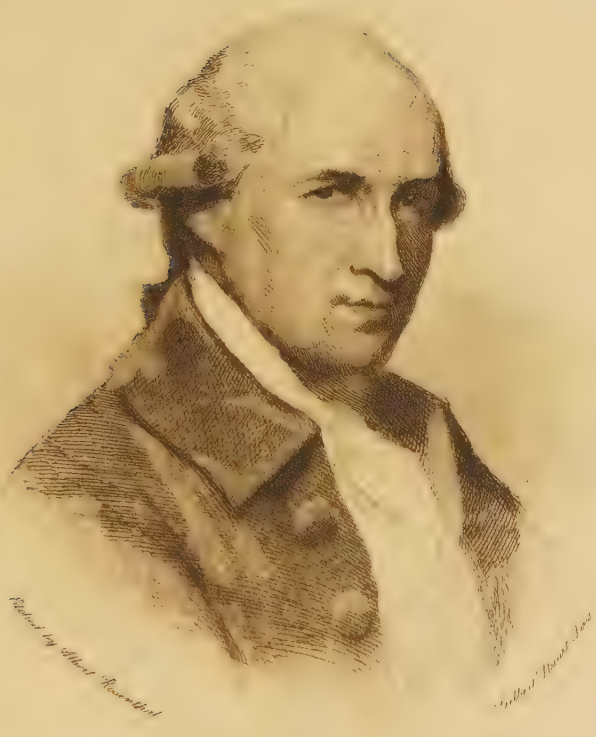
Captain Newcastle, sent by Denny to ascertain whether Teedyuscung had any authority from the Six Nations, reported

that Canyase, one of their principal councillors, a Mohawk chief, had explained to Teedyuscung that, while the Mohawks were men, made so from above, the Delawares were women, but since they had taken up the tomahawk, of which the Six Nations did not approve, the latter had made them men, but did not allow them to carry a tomahawk. Sir William Johnson took some offense at Captain Newcastle, and disliked the conference at Easton, as an encroachment upon his exclusive right conferred by the King to treat with the Five Nations and their allies: so he induced the Earl of Loudoun to forbid by letter of September 22 anything further of the kind. The Pennsylvania officials, however, in view of the Proprietaries' chartered rights, and the interview with him at Easton, Samuel Preston Moore, Abraham Dawes, Jonathan Mifflin, Israel Pemberton, and other Quakers at their own expense furnished winter clothing to the Indians attending. Several Quakers were present. Denny, by his candid language, did, as the Mohawks afterwards said, "put his hand into Teedyuscung's bosom, and was so successful as to draw out the secret," viz.: that he and others felt that they had been defrauded in the matter of land: the Proprietaries had purchased land cheap and sold it off dear, and would not allow the Indians to cut a little wood, or hunt, which was their only means of livelihood; and then he made his complaints as to the Walking Purchase. As to this last, Denny offering to inquire thoroughly, the commissioners suggested that, as more goods had been brought than was proper for so few Indians, it would be better to give immediate satisfaction, whether the claim was just or unjust; and to this Denny agreed, and asked Teedyuscung what would satisfy them, and explained that a large part of the 400*l.* worth of goods for their relief had been furnished by the Quakers, the descendants of those who came over with William Penn. Teedyuscung said that he must bring to the next meeting the people to whom the land had belonged, and a meeting in the spring was agreed to. Croghan, who had been appointed by Sir William Johnson

to take charge of Indian affairs in Pennsylvania, consented to this meeting, and, at the Assembly's expense, dispatched messengers to the Shawanees and Delawares on the Ohio to induce them to take part. The Friendly Association, headed by Israel Pemberton, William Callender, Jeremiah Warder, and William Fisher, contributed 100*l*. Callendar and Pemberton applied for permission to search the minutes of the Governor's Council to satisfy themselves and their friends as to the true state of the Indian claims on the lands in this Province, they having raised a considerable sum for amicably adjusting the same. This permission was refused, and they were notified that the Governor could not allow any business to be transacted with the Indians except by those immediately empowered by the King's authority or his own.

A battalion of the Royal American Regiment with Bouquet in command and two independent companies being ordered to the city of Philadelphia for the winter, a part arrived in December. The Assembly extended to the Province the act of Parliament authorizing the quartering of troops in the public houses by the mayor and Corporation, Governor Denny protesting that this would not be sufficient; the Assembly, on the other hand, concluded that 117 public houses could take care of 100 men, and was unwilling to subject private citizens to having soldiers, some of them perhaps their former servants, introduced into their households. The mayor, Attwood Shute, the recorder, Benjamin Chew, and several aldermen, among them Strettell and Mifflin of the Governor's Council, remonstrated to the Assembly, saying that the keepers of the public houses were many of them so poor that it was impossible to provide for such numbers. The condition of those who arrived became more and more wretched as the weather became colder, 124 having to sleep on straw on the floor of rooms without fire, and the smallpox increasing, whereas no hospital had been provided, nor any store house nor guard room. Then Denny, after remonstrating with various members of the Assembly, sent for the sheriff, and made out a warrant requiring

him to provide quarters for those who could not be accommodated in the public houses, and, besides these quarters, a hospital or a number of contiguous houses to serve as such. This warrant was handed to Bouquet to fill up with the number of soldiers not able to be cared for in public houses; meanwhile not to be considered as issued. The sheriff, borrowing it from Bouquet, showed it to Israel Pemberton and some Quakers and to the Assembly. The House, much perturbed, recommended to the commissioners for spending the 30,000*l.* the establishment of a hospital, and addressed the Governor, asking him to cause the magistrates and officers of the City to make an inspection of the quarters in public houses, and oblige the keepers of public houses to receive the officers and soldiers billeted upon them, either in said houses or such others as they could procure, and so quiet the minds of the people, expressing surprise at a report of his ordering the sheriff to quarter soldiers in private houses. Denny wrote a short note to the Assembly that the troops must be quartered. The Assembly sat all Saturday afternoon and Sunday, and sent a long message to him, while the people were going to church, asking for a conference; this took place the next day, and was a long wrangle, the assemblymen pointing out that there was plenty of room in the public houses of the suburbs and other towns of the Province, and the Governor saying it was his duty to execute the General's orders, which specified quarters in the city; the assemblymen saying there was no necessity for this, the Governor maintaining that the General was the proper judge as to the necessity, the assemblymen replying that if that were so, military officers might say it was necessary to quarter a whole army in one square in one street. Denny sent that night to the mayor, demanding a prompt inspection and report. While this was being made, and the mayor's representation being verified, the Earl of Loudoun wrote that if the quarters were not provided, he would, if necessary, march enough troops to Philadelphia to enforce the securing of them, and he sent Major-



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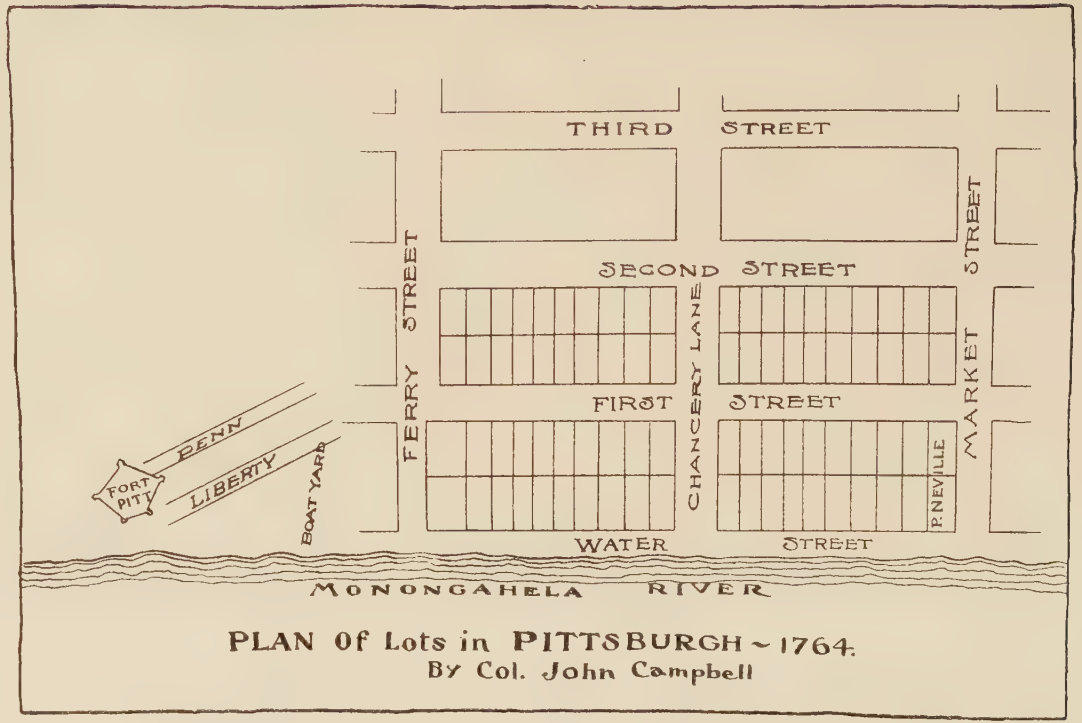
General Webb to take command. Denny then obtained from the commissioners to spend the 30,000*l.*, an assurance that the quarters would be provided, and the hospital furnished in a week.

The Assembly on January 22 passed an act for raising 100,000*l.* for defence by a tax on all estates, real and personal, and disregarded the Proprietary instructions as to exempting the quit rents and the vast estate in unimproved lands, and as to regulating the procedure of the assessors. Probably with inward glee they complied with the requirement that the money should be raised in one year; for, as so great a part of the 100,000*l.* was to be paid by the Penns, the latter would suffer by being obliged to hand over such an amount at once. On Denny's refusal to transgress any instructions, the Assembly sent a remonstrance that the necessity for so large a sum, founded on the Governor's own estimate, had obliged them to an effort beyond their strength; hundreds of families must be distressed to pay the tax, and the bill as closely followed the laws of the Mother Country as the different circumstances permitted. Denny decided to lay the bill before the King, with his reasons for not passing it, and the Assembly, deciding to do the same, nevertheless sent to Denny a bill entitled "a supplement to the act entitled 'an act for granting the sum of 60,000*l.* to the King's use for striking 55,000*l.* thereof in bills of credit and to provide a fund for sinking the same,' and for granting to His Majesty the additional sum of 100,000*l.*" This bill exempted the Proprietaries' quit rents and their unimproved estates, but the Governor rejected it, chiefly as contravening the instruction against such an increase of paper money, it allowing 45,000*l.* to be immediately struck in bills of credit, and as establishing a tax for four years. Denny suggested that if on trial a tax for one year were insufficient, it could be made to embrace luxuries. The Assembly said that if every detail of the instructions were to be implicitly followed, the real and personal estate taxable did not exceed 20,000 houses, with the improved land annexed to them, averaging, including the personal estate

of those inhabiting them, 250*l.* each, altogether 5,000,000*l.* principal, having 150,000*l.* as the yearly value at three per cent., on which a tax of 4*s.* per *l.* would produce only 30,000*l.* As to making up the deficiency by taxing luxuries, such a tax in New York, including duties on wine, distilled liquors, negroes, cocoa, and drygoods, during the last fiscal year had produced 3,204*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.*, the people there, moreover, being generally richer than those in Pennsylvania, and nearly all the gold and silver of neighboring colonies going there to support the troops. "Our chief luxury," the committee on the subject said, "if it can be called a luxury, is rum;" and this, with wine, etc., was already subject to a tax for ten years to come. By the middle of March, the pay of the Provincial forces was six months in arrear, and a mutiny was feared. Lord Loudoun came to Philadelphia for a meeting with the Governors of North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, at which it was decided that Pennsylvania should furnish 1,400 men, of whom 200 should serve in the defence of South Carolina. Denny explained to him the difficulty with the Assembly, and at his request made certain propositions for Loudoun to lay before the members of the Assembly, indicating how far the Lieutenant-Governor, in the face of the instructions, could go towards a compromise; whereupon Norris and Franklin presented the reply of the Assembly. A part of this was as follows: "The Proprietaries are hereditary Governors of this Province; they have a noble support in the quit rents; they ought therefore to govern the Province in person; but they live in England, make private estate of the quit rents, and send deputies to govern in their stead. Their deputies have also a support which we have established by law in the money issuing from licenses, etc., supposed to be near £1,000 sterling per annum. Thus we actually pay two supports, and yet have not the full benefit of one Governor; for the Proprietaries live at a great distance, and can not readily be applied to on any emergency of government, and their Deputy is so restrained that he can not use his own judgment. When our



PLAN Of Lots in PITTSBURGH ~ 1764.
By Col. John Campbell

Engraved especially for this work from a copy in possession of Dr. W. J. Holland

Lieutenant-Governors were at liberty to act as Governors, and pass such laws as they found for the benefit of the people, they have always received from the Assembly additional yearly marks of the People's gratitude and respect. Above 30,000*l.* have been given by the Assembly within these thirty years to Governors out of the funds of which by law the Assemblies had the sole disposition. The Assembly have great respect for their present Governor"—this seems hardly mere propriety of speech or flattery—"and if he would think fit himself to hear and answer their complaints, it might probably be very agreeable to the Assembly to have an opportunity of laying them before him; but, as there are some of his Council who are suspected to be the advisers of all the measures, and even procurers of the instructions to be complained of as grievances, men who are looked upon as enemies to the House and to the People, attached to the Proprietaries by profitable offices held during pleasure, it seems as if it would answer no good end, but rather tend to continue and increase contention, if the Council are to consider the complaints and advise the answers." Of the Council at that time, Peters was Secretary of the Land Office, Chew Attorney-General, and Lardner (brother of Richard Penn's wife) Receiver-General of the Land Office; but ex-Governor Hamilton, rather than the last named, joined Peters and Chew as leaders. The remaining members were Logan, whose father had been higher than Peters in the Proprietaries' confidence, and Strettell, Shoemaker, Cadwalader, and Mifflin, in no way affiliated with the Penns, except by their membership of such a body. On March 21, report came from Indians on their way to the expected treaty that 800 French and Indians were at the head of the west branch of the Susquehanna, getting ready their canoes to come against Fort Augusta. Part of the Provincial troops ordered to re-enforce it refused until they should be paid. Loudoun thereupon requested Denny to waive the instructions, and pass the bill, which was accordingly done on the 23rd. By May the attack on Fort Augusta had not taken place,

the term of enlistment of the troops had expired, and they, discouraged at the slowness of pay, had not re-enlisted; 500 men were being raised through bounties, and the 45,000*l.* issued under the last act had been exhausted. The Lieutenant-Governor could do nothing less than consent to an act for issuing bills of credit for the balance of the 100,000*l.*

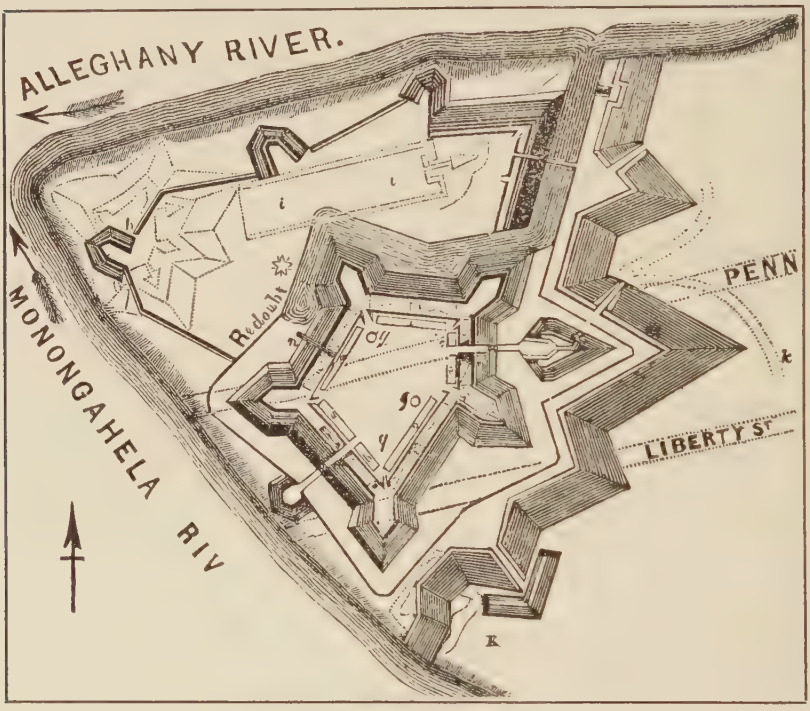
Teedyuscung's return being delayed, and a great many of the Six Nations who had come to meet him being anxious to get home, the Governor and Croghan, in the presence of John Stanwix, a lieutenant-colonel of the Royal American Regiment, and attended by the committee of the Assembly and others, met those chiefs at Lancaster, in May. Their spokesman said concerning any frauds upon the Delawares: "They lived among you, brothers, but upon some difference between you and them we thought proper to remove them, giving them lands to plant and hunt on at Wyoming and Juniata on Susquehanna. But you, covetous of land, made plantations there, and spoiled their hunting grounds: they then complained to us, and we looked over those lands, and found their complaints to be true. . . . . The French became acquainted with all the causes of complaint they had against you; and as your people were daily increasing their settlements, by this means you drove them back into the arms of the French, and they took the advantage of spiriting them up against you by telling them: 'Children, you see, and we have often told you, how the English, your brethren, would serve; they plant all the country, and drive you back; so that in a little time you will have no land. It is not so with us; though we build trading houses on your land, we do not plant it; we have our provisions from over the great waters.'" The chiefs advised that part of the fields of the Delawares be given back to them rather than there be any difference with them, and promised to make the Delawares and Shawanees bring back their prisoners, and urged a further invitation to Teedyuscung to come and bring some Senecas with him to have the question of the land fully

settled. Denny sent accordingly, notifying Teedyuscung also that the Proprietaries had written to have the complaints of the Indians fully heard and settled as soon as possible. Some of the Six Nations agreed to stay in the Province, and assist in protecting the frontier. A band of Cherokees, whom Colonel Armstrong met as the representative of the Governor of Pennsylvania, and to whom the Six Nations consented that presents be sent, roamed almost to Fort Duquesne, killing Indians and Frenchmen. Yet the ravages by the enemy continued. Even Broadhead's house within sight of Fort Hamilton was burnt.

On July 7, 1757, the Lieutenant-Governor declared to the Council that in his opinion the government could not be carried on without the presence of one of the Proprietaries, and asked the members to consider the question of immediately addressing them on the subject. Some thought that, as the question between the Proprietaries and the Assembly was before the British government, and would keep the former in England, it would be better to wait. Shoemaker thought not. Others suggested that perhaps the Proprietaries would consent to relax their instructions. The Lieutenant-Governor then determined to write at once, and also to send a letter to the Secretary of State by a ship ready to sail.

When Teedyuscung arrived, the Lieutenant-Governor had received a letter from the Proprietaries forbidding the Quakers or any other particular body to concern themselves in any treaty with the Indians, or on any pretence to give presents to the Indians, or join in the public presents. The Earl of Halifax, the letter said, had communicated to them a treaty with Indians held by the Quakers in Philadelphia, which he deemed the highest invasion of His Majesty's prerogative. Therefore, when the Friendly Association asked to be allowed to make presents at the coming interview, and attend it, the Lieutenant-Governor could only announce this new instruction, and say that it would be prudent in the Association to decline going in a body. The Asso-

ciation answered with a long narration of the connection of Friends with the late treaties, closing with these words: "The business to be transacted there is of so much consequence to the



Fort Pitt, 1766

The dotted outline in the extreme end of the point shows position and shape of Fort Duquesne; the dotted outline in the lower centre the first Fort Pitt. Revised from plan made in 1763, the original of which is in the British Museum, the location of modern streets being indicated

lives, liberties, and properties of the people of this Province that should we omit to attend there, and depend on the Governor and the King's agent receiving all their information on this important

occasion from the Proprietaries' agents and others who have for some years past been concerned in the transacting of Indian affairs, we should be deficient in our duty as Christians and Englishmen, denominations we hold more dear to us than any other titles or appellations whatsoever." When the treaty took place, July 21, 1757, Teedyuscung, instigated it was alleged by Israel Pemberton, asked for a clerk, and seemed at first satisfied with the arrangement, explained by Denny, that Croghan, as the King's representative, should take the minutes, but two days afterwards told Joseph Galloway and other Provincial Commissioners that he would go home if the Governor persisted in refusing it. Denny, not disposed to jeopardize the treaty, yielded, and Teedyuscung appointed Charles Thomson, then master of the Friends' School in Philadelphia, who took minutes as such clerk, Croghan taking his own minutes as agent under Sir William Johnson, Duché taking some for the Governor. Teedyuscung's company included fifty-eight men. Two principal men deputed by the Senecas came with forty-three other men of that tribe or other tribes of the Six Nations. Women and children accompanied both bands. Teedyuscung, speaking for ten nations, Lenâpé, Wename, Minisinks, Mohicans, Nanticokes, and the original Five of the Six Nations, viz.: Senecas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Oneidas, and Mohawks, began by asking that, as one of his messengers had been dangerously wounded by the shot of a white man, justice should be done according to English laws, and, if the wounded Indian died, the guilty man should be put to death in the presence of some of the Indians. This the Governor promised, informing Teedyuscung that the suspected person was in jail, and that it was well settled by the treaties that if either an Englishman or Indian killed one of the other race, he should be tried by the English laws, and that the most skillful doctor in the colony had been sent to take care of the wounded man. Then Teedyuscung proceeded: "The land is the cause of our differences; that is, our being unhappily turned out is the cause, and though the first

settlers might purchase the land fairly, yet they did not act well nor do the Indians justice, for they ought to have reserved some place for the Indians. Had that been done, these differences would not have happened. . . . . This I ask, that I may have some place for a settlement, and for other good purposes in which we both agree, but as I am a free agent as well as you, I must not be bound up, but have liberty to settle where I please." Croghan, at a private meeting with Teedyuscung and seven of his counsellors, elicited this explanation: "The complaints I made last fall, I yet continue: I think some lands have been bought by the Proprietary or his agents from Indians who had not a right to sell, and to whom the lands did not belong. I think also, when some lands have been sold to the Proprietary by Indians who had a right to sell to a certain place, whether that purchase was to be measured by miles or hours' walk, the Proprietaries have, contrary to agreement or bargain, taken in more lands than they ought to have done, and lands that belonged to others. I therefore now desire that you will produce the writings and deeds by which you hold the land, and let them be read in public and examined, that it may be fully known from what Indians you have bought the lands you hold, and how far your purchases extend; that copies of the whole may be laid before King George, and published to all the Provinces under his government. What is fairly bought and paid for, I make no further demands about: but if any lands have been bought of Indians to whom these lands did not belong, and who had no right to sell them, I expect a satisfaction for these lands. And if the Proprietaries have taken in more lands than they bought of true owners, I expect likewise to be paid for that. But as the persons to whom the Proprietaries may have sold these lands, which of right belonged to me, have made some settlements, I do not want to disturb them, or force them to leave them, but I expect a full satisfaction shall be made to the true owners. . . . . We intend to settle at Wyoming, and we want to have certain boundaries fixed between you and us,

and a certain tract of land fixed which it shall not be lawful for us or our children ever to sell, nor for you or any of your children ever to buy. . . . . To build different houses from what we have done heretofore, such as may last not only for a little time, but for our children after us, we desire you will assist us in making our settlements, and send us persons to instruct us in building houses, and in making such necessaries as shall be needful, and that persons be sent to instruct us in the Christian religion, which may be for our future welfare, and to instruct our children in reading and writing, and that a fair trade be established between us, and such persons appointed to conduct and manage these affairs as shall be agreeable to us." In reply to a question about Fort Augusta, which was included in the bounds desired according to a plan which Teedyuscung presented, the latter agreed that the fort should belong to the English and should continue as a trading house, and his people would assist in defending it. The plan was supposed to have been made by Charles Thomson, the writing on it being in his hand, and the whole proposition was supposed to have been dictated by him or the Quakers in town. Croghan gave Denny an opinion that the real desire of the Indians was to get a sight of the deeds, that they might know what Indians granted the lands, and that all were of opinion that the Proprietaries had made fair purchases from the Six Nations, but that the latter were not the rightful owners. Croghan and Weiser thought that if the Delawares persisted, it would occasion a breach between them and the Six Nations, which would have fatal consequences, and it was decided that it would be imprudent to enter into the question of the title of the Six Nations, which should be left to Sir William Johnson: so on Sunday, July 31, the Lieutenant-Governor asked that, as the land was not the principal cause of the Delawares striking Pennsylvania, but only the reason that they struck a harder blow, such matter of little moment be passed over, and peace be made, and as Sir William Johnson had been appointed to settle the complaint as to the land,

and his Deputy had no power to suffer any altercation on that subject to take place here, it be referred to Sir William. As a convincing proof of the value which the Proprietaries set upon

Old Sun Dial from Fort Pitt

Photographed especially for this work from the original in the Carnegie Museum, Pittsburgh

the friendship of the Indians, the Proprietaries had agreed to relinquish the land west of the Alleghanies forming part of the purchase made at Albany of 1754. As to the lands between Shamokin and Wyoming, which Teedyuscung wished to settle,

they had never been claimed under any purchase. Teedyuscung answered the next day that he was well pleased, except with one thing, which he had ordered to be written down by his clerk, who had read it over to them three or four times and now would read it. The Lieutenant-Governor objected to this. "Brother, it is true," replied the untutored savage; "you are right, this was not formerly practiced; it never used to be so. Don't you see that I aim by having a clerk of my own to exceed my ancestors by having everything for the best." The Lieutenant-Governor appealed to Croghan, who came to his assistance, and asked the chief to repeat himself what he had to say. Then Teedyuscung said that what they had concluded upon was this: As Croghan had been introduced to them as appointed to act for Sir William Johnson, why must they be obliged to go to the latter to have the proofs and deeds examined? They did not wish to go, for they did not know him, and there were in his country Indians who had been instrumental in selling lands, having in former years usurped that authority, and called Delawares women. "I only want," said he, "for the satisfaction of the Indians of the ten nations present, and also of all other Indians, that the deeds may be produced and well looked into. . . . . After they have been fairly taken down, if you agree to this, then I shall, by two belts tied together, take you by the hand, and with my uncles confirm a lasting peace with you; and if it please the Governor and Mr. Croghan, let the copy of the deeds be sent to Sir William Johnson, and to the King, and let him judge. I want nothing for the land till the King hath sent letters back: then if any of the lands be found to belong to me, I expect to be paid for it, and not before." Croghan then said that the deeds must be read and copies of them given. Peters said that he held them not as secretary, but merely on a private trust, and if he showed them or gave copies, except to Sir William Johnson, it would violate the express instructions and be a breach of trust, which he hoped the Lieutenant-Governor and Council would not require. William Logan declared that in

his opinion it would be unjust to the Indians and injurious to the Proprietaries not to show, read, and explain to the Indians all deeds relating to the land in question, with the names of those who had signed them, and the instructions referring the matter to Sir William Johnson should not be adhered to. The councillors then reflected that the deeds were on record in Philadelphia, and the Quakers had brought exemplifications of them to the treaty, so it could not hurt the Proprietaries for the originals to be produced, as the Lieutenant-Governor had insisted that he could not go into a defence of the title: so all except Peters agreed to the reading and the giving of copies of five deeds, including the copy of the alleged deed of 1686. Weiser obtained Teedyuscung's consent that only the deeds covering land north of Tohiccon should be produced. So on August 3, these deeds were produced, and peace was made. Croghan noticed that the deed of 1718, which was a summary of all previous deeds, and which only covered as far as the South mountain below the Lehigh, was not one of the five deeds, so he announced that he expected a copy of it. A few days later Paxanosa, the Shawanee king, and Abraham, a Mohican chief, and about fifty or sixty Indians arrived, and were informed of the peace. Croghan then asked that Teedyuscung join the Six Nations against the French. Teedyuscung then called upon those present of the Six Nations to witness that whereas he had been called a woman by his uncles, they had since given him a tomahawk, the edge of which he would turn against the French.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE EXPULSION OF THE FRENCH

THE treaty at Easton had a good effect. Little or no mischief was done on the borders that winter. After the treaty was over and Teedyuscung was returning to Tioga Point, he met messengers from the Ohio Indians, who announced that they were sorry that they had struck the English, and would do what he told them. He informed them of the peace, and that he would give them a tomahawk against the French, and would bring them down to Philadelphia for a treaty. He himself made frequent visits to Philadelphia, the first being at the end of that month, when he reported this interview, and also asked for a copy of the deed of 1718, and the reason why the treaty had not been published. On Denny explaining that it was Sir William Johnson's business to order any publication, and that Croghan had so reminded Denny, Teedyuscung said that Croghan was a rogue, and that he himself would have nothing to do with him or Johnson. Denny handed over the desired copy of the deed, and gave Teedyuscung assurance that the treaty would be published. Two members of the Assembly asked Denny if he had power to consent to an act, which they offered to have the Assembly pass, to vest in the Indians and their posterity the lands which they desired to be reserved for them. The draft or plan of these lands not being clear, and it being imprudent to make an appropriation of land not released by the Six Nations, Denny replied that, while he had not the power, he would write to the Proprietaries for such power,

and to have the necessary permission solicited from the Six Nations.

The Assembly, on hearing of the surrender of Fort William Henry, by act authorized the Lieutenant-Governor to send 1,000 men to the defence of the province of New York. In September, Lord Loudoun ordered the Second battalion of the Royal Americans to march to Carlisle, and join Colonel Stanwix for the protection of the back settlements. Frenchmen and Indians came to Minisink to reconnoitre; but, in spite of Teedyuscung's wishes, a reward for scalps was not offered, Weiser suggesting that the province would be paying for the scalps of its own people. John Hughes, Edward Shippen (grandson of the former President of the Council), James Galbreath, and Rev. Charles Beatty went to Wyoming to build houses and a little fort, as Teedyuscung expected to remove from Tioga to that place in the following May.

Owing to the illness of Isaac Norris, Thomas Leech, a merchant of Philadelphia, was chosen Speaker of the Assembly on January 2, 1758. A report was made to the Council as to the Walking Purchase. Some of the points made were good, but it would at the present day be called a "whitewash." Logan did not sign it, and was not present at the Council on January 6, when it was unanimously adopted.

The Earl of Loudoun was ordered back to England, and Major-General James Abercrombie succeeded him as commander-in-chief of the forces in America. Teedyuscung came again to Philadelphia in March, and was as spirited, not to say rude, as usual. He asked for a clerk; on which request the councillors debated for more than an hour, and then caused a message to be sent that for the private interview which was expected the old custom of having no one present but the councillors on both sides would be followed. Teedyuscung replied that he was tired of waiting, was at dinner, and would bring his clerk, or not speak at all. The difficulty was solved by holding a public conference in the council chamber at the State House in presence of many persons, when

the calumet sent to him in reply to the publication of peace was smoked in turn by himself, then the Governor, and Shoemaker, Logan, and Peters of the Council, and the Speaker and members of the Assembly. Eight nations, the Ottawas, Twightees, Chippewas, Tawas, Caughnawagos, Mahoowas, Pietoatomows, and Nalashawawnas, had taken hold of the covenant belt in addition to the ten for which he had spoken at the treaty. A week

Birthplace of Robert Fulton

Engraved for this work from a negative by D. E. Brinton

later, when the Lieutenant-Governor made his reply accepting this alliance, and thanking Teedyuscung, the latter repeated his request for the benefits of civilization: "Brother, you must consider I have a soul as well as another and I think it proper you should let me have two ministers to teach me, that my soul may be instructed and saved at last. Brother, and I desire, moreover, two schoolmasters, for there are a great many Indian children who want schoolmasters. One therefore is not sufficient to teach them all, so that they may be sufficiently instructed in the Christian way. Brother, I have a body as well as a soul. I want two men to instruct me and show me the ways of living, and how to

conduct temporal affairs, who may teach me in everything to do as you do yourselves, that I may live as you do, and likewise who may watch over me, and take care of my things, that nobody may cheat me." He asked the liberty of choosing the ministers. He said: "You tell us the Christian religion is good, and we believe it to be so, partly upon the credit of your words, and partly because we see that some of our brother Indians who were wicked before they became Christians live better lives now than they formerly did." He wanted two instructors in temporal affairs, so that if one proved dishonest, the other might prevent him from imposing upon the Indians. Several Cherokees had been sent through Philadelphia, accompanied by some Mohawks, on their way from Sir William Johnson, who was by them inviting the Cherokee and other southern nations of Indians to make a treaty of alliance with him. News came that several more had arrived at Winchester, prepared to start out against the French and the Ohio Indians. Teedyuscung asked that a messenger be sent to his friends on the Ohio, warning them to separate from the French, so as not with them to be cut off, and also a messenger to the Cherokees to stop the latter, for if they did any injury, it would be attributed to the English, who had hired them. Denny had reason to believe that the Cherokees hated the Delawares and Shawanees, and did not wish these to become friends of the English, the hope being that they would be destroyed. Denny wrote to George Washington, or whoever commanded the Virginia troops, leaving to him the nice point how to communicate the news of the peace to the Cherokees without disgusting them so much that they would leave the service. Then Denny sent to the Ohio Indians the pipe which William Penn smoked on his first arrival in the country, and which had been preserved by his order to that day. Denny was not free to send any invitation to the eight nations of which Teedyuscung had spoken, from apprehension that in some way the plans of Sir William Johnson might be interfered with. Tied hand and foot by his many masters, this

occupant of the gubernatorial chair only occasionally could slip for an inch or so, or change the position of his cords. Apparently he found the matrimonial tie the most irksome; for his treatment of his wife came to be resented by the ladies, so Franklin tells us.

On December 30, 1757, Pitt as Secretary of State communicated the King's commands for a large force to be raised in the colonies south of Pennsylvania inclusive, ready to take the field as soon after May 1 as possible, under the command of Brigadier-General John Forbes. On receipt of this, the Assembly of Pennsylvania voted to raise, pay, and clothe 2,700 men, including those then in service. Teedyuscung asked that the whole conquest of the Ohio be left to him; with one blow he would drive the enemies of the English into the sea: but Robert Strettell, in Denny's absence, explained that the expedition must go; then Teedyuscung promised to accompany it, but with his own captains over his people.

The Assembly passed a bill for granting 100,000*l.* for the military expenses, and levying a tax on all estates real and personal. Denny proposed to amend it so that the Proprietaries' estates should not be taxed by the same mode as those of the inhabitants, but asked the House not to understand him as wishing to exempt the Proprietaries' estates, which in fact, he said, was not desired by those gentlemen themselves. They were willing that every tract surveyed and appropriated for their use should bear an equal share of the burdens imposed for defence. As the estates of the people were to be rated and assessed by assessors chosen by the people, so, he argued, the estates of the Proprietaries should be rated and assessed only by those in the choice of whom they had a voice; therefore he offered to concur in a separate bill putting the taxation of such estates into the hands of commissioners to be accepted by him as part of the act and named therein. He also informed the House that it would be impossible for him to transact any business with Joseph Fox, John Hughes, William Masters,

Joseph Galloway, and John Baynton, who had been commissioners under the last money bill, and were among those named in this. Not only had they treated him with discourtesy, they had expended money without obtaining his consent, or even consulting him, contrary to the directions of the act appointing them, and had held meetings without giving notice to Lardner and Mifflin, their fellow commissioners. He moreover disapproved of members of Assembly acting as commissioners. The House adhered to the bill in every respect. The Lieutenant-Governor then rejected it, and said that he would send to the King a copy, with his reasons for rejecting it. The money being required, General Abercrombie writing from New York, General Forbes arriving in Philadelphia, forty Cherokees coming to Fort Loudoun naked and without arms and to be provided for, the Assembly passed another bill for 100,000*l.*, naming the same commissioners, but exempting the Proprietary estates. Denny sent down his amendments. He objected among other things to a clause intimating that the money under the former bill had been expended with his consent, whereas he declared that he did not know how the commissioners had spent the money, and that they had not filed any account. Their account, as a matter of fact, was before a committee of the House. The House adhering to the bill, the Council, after serious deliberation, on April 22, Strettell, Peters, Mifflin, Turner, Lardner, and Cadwalader being present, unanimously recommended that the Lieutenant-Governor yield, which he signified in a written message that he did under protest. General Forbes having made requisition for 218 light fusees and 165 arms in the public store, and Denny having given an order for the same on Thomas Janvier, the provincial armorer, Hughes, Galloway, Baynton, and Masters forbade him to deliver them. The General expostulating, the Lieutenant-Governor gave a peremptory order, and told the armorer that he would indemnify him.

Sir William Johnson approved of Denny sending an invitation to the Indians inclined to peace. Ravages at this time recom-

mencing, Teedyuscung sent Indians to range the frontiers, but they got drunk; he sent his sons to the Ohio, but they took fright, and would not leave Fort Allen until he went there. Such was the terror at Reading that Forbes promised that 100 Highlanders should guard the town, from which promise he felt compelled to recede, leaving such work to provincial soldiers.

The John Harris Mansion, Harrisburg

Built 1766; engraved for this work from a photograph in possession of the Historical Society of Dauphin County, Pennsylvania

The Assembly, replying to Denny's message of April 22, asked if the tracts surveyed and appropriated for the Proprietaries' use were all the property which they were willing to have assessed for the immediate preservation of their own fortunes. Must the quit rents arising from several millions of acres, the large estate in ground rents, etc., be exempted? The Assembly repeated a former criticism on Denny's management of the provincial troops. Had he not had 1,400 men under his command, and yet permitted

the most trifling parties of Indians to depopulate a great part of the province, while the troops were inactive in the forts? Had not orders to make incursions into the enemy's country, although expressly directed by law, been entirely neglected? Had a single party been sent out on this account, or one of the enemy been killed, or taken prisoner, during his administration? Had not the people been surprised and murdered in their beds, when but for this neglect they might have had timely notice, and defended themselves? In short, what protection or defence had the unhappy colony received from the large sums of money given?

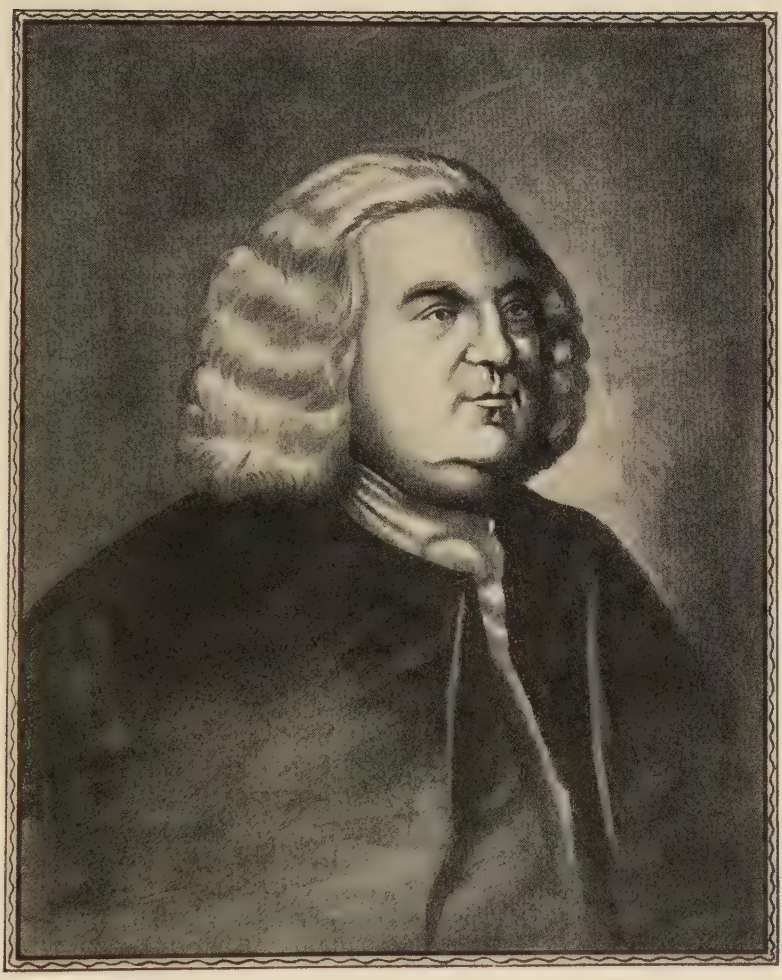
John Hughes and Henry Pawling started on May 15 from Bethlehem with 50 or 60 carpenters, masons, and laborers, marching across the country to Wyoming, which they reached on the 22nd. Not meeting on their arrival the batteaux from Fort Augusta, they were for some time short of provisions, and for several days without bread, and one of the masons was killed and scalped by a party of Indians: but in the ten days of their stay ten houses, mostly 20 feet by 14, and one 24 by 16, were finished, and some land ploughed and rails split. Will Sock, a Conestoga, had been over the country carrying a French flag, and had murdered Chagrea and a "Dutchman" in Lancaster county. Teedyuscung took away the flag, sent it to Philadelphia, and gave him an English flag. Meanwhile, the building of a fort at Wyoming, and the entrance of Cherokees into the province made the Indians at Tioga and Osaningo very uneasy, and there was some ejalousy of Teedyuscung. Paxinosa and his family decided to move to the Ohio, and many had already gone in that direction. The Rev. Christian Frederick Post, the Moravian missionary, and Charles Thomson were sent to Teedyuscung to explain as to the Cherokees, and to caution the friendly Indians to remain on the eastern side of the Susquehanna. These messengers went as far as the Nescopecken mountains, where hearing that hostile warriors were skulking in the woods, they sent for Teedyuscung, who came from his new residence at Wyoming, and explained that

he could not invite the messengers to his house for fear of ill befalling them from the Indians that lay "squatting in the bush." He expected a great many, including all the Wanamis and Mohicans, to come during the summer to live with him, and he begged for provisions for them, maize and flour, and also powder and shot, to be sent to Shamokin, whence by way of the river it was easier to transport them than from Fort Allen. He assured Post and Thomson that the belt repeating an invitation to the Senecas would reach their chief man in eight days, and there must be a treaty during that summer, the Onondagas having alreday promised to attend. Two Cherokee chiefs sent words of friendship to Teedyuscung, advising the Delawares not to go to the war, but to leave the fighting to the Cherokees, and reported the services of the latter to the English in killing 12 Frenchmen, 12 Tawas, and 2 Shawanees, and asked that the Lenâpé on the Ohio be brought away, lest the tomahawk of the Cherokees, which was exceedingly sharp, should kill some by mistake. Let the Shawanees and Tawas remain, said the Cherokees; time out of mind, the Tawas had been at war with the Cherokees. Rev. C. F. Post took this message to Teedyuscung, and at Wyoming met Indians from the Allegheny who expressed sorrow for turning against the English, and complained that they had heard no satisfactory account of the peace made at Easton, nor received any belts until lately, whereas had messengers come from the government of the province, the war would have ceased. Post said that the messengers had been sent. An old chief living above the Allegheny said that it would be of great consequence to his people if the Governor would send somebody to them on his return. Information was gathered that at Fort Duquesne were 1,100 French soldiers almost starved, who would have abandoned the place, had not the Mohawks helped them. The provisions came from the Mississippi. The commander had said "if the English come too strong upon me, I will leave." Two of these Allegheny Indians came down to Philadelphia, and were induced to go as quickly as possible to the

Ohio, and observe what was taking place at Fort Duquesne, and send a messenger back from Beaver Creek. Post agreed to accompany them, but asked for some other white men. Charles Thomson offered to go, but the Lieutenant-Governor objected, telling Post to take any other person, and to get trusty Indians from the Rev. Mr. Spangenberg at Bethlehem. Written accounts of the conferences and all the belts and strings delivered with the speeches were handed to Post and the two Allegheny Indians. Post taking with him abstracts, the party set out from Philadelphia on July 15.

Francis Bernard, an old acquaintance of Denny, arrived in New Jersey as Governor of that province, just after the Muncys had made an incursion, and had inflicted the usual barbarities. Taking measures for defence, planning to make a peace with Denny's assistance, or, if unsuccessful in that, to pursue the Muncys to the heart of their own settlements, Bernard held a pow-wow at Burlington in presence of Denny and Chew, Turner, and Peters, and agreed to attend a treaty at Easton.

Meanwhile, by the labors of General Forbes, who, taken sick upon his arrival in Philadelphia in April, was overworking himself with details which in a better organized service would have been attended to by sergeants and quartermasters, an army of about 7,000 men had been set in motion against Fort Duquesne The forces raised by Pennsylvania, called a regiment, were in three battalions, the general officers being Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Shippen (son of Edward Shippen of Lancaster); Commissary of the Musters and Paymaster, James Young (who had married the daughter of Dr. Græme of the Governor's Council); Surgeon, Dr. Bond; Chaplain, Rev. Thomas Barton (the Church of England minister at Lancaster); Wagon Master, Robert Irwin, and deputy Wagon Master, Mordecai Thompson of Chester county. The first battalion was commanded by Colonel John Armstrong, the leader of the Kittanning Expedition; under him were Lieutenant-Colonels Hance Hamilton of York, Major



William Allen

Recorder of Philadelphia 1741; chief justice of Pennsylvania 1750-1774

Jacob Orndt, Surgeon Blain, Chaplain Rev. Charles Beatty (a Presbyterian), Adjutant John Philip de Haas, and Quartermaster Thomas Smallman. The sixteen companies were respectively led, as far as we have ascertained, by Samuel Allen, James Potter, Jacob Snaidor, George Armstrong, Edward Ward, Robert Callender, John Nicholas Wetterholt, William Lyon, Patrick Davis, Charles Garraway, William Armstrong, Richard Walter, David Hunter, and John McKnight. The second battalion was commanded by Colonel James Burd, a Scotchman by birth, who had married into the Shippen family, and lived not far from Harris's Ferry, the present Harrisburg. His Lieutenant-Colonel was Thomas Lloyd, apparently the physician of that name who was great-grandson of the former Lieutenant-Governor; the Major being David Jamison, and the other officers Surgeon John Morgan, Chaplain Rev. John Steel (Presbyterian), Adjutant Jacob Kern, Quartermaster Asher Clayton, Commissary Peter Bard. James Hayes took Colonel Burd's company, and was wounded at Grant's defeat hereafter mentioned; Samuel Miles of Philadelphia county as Lieutenant took Lieutenant-Colonel Lloyd's company, and was wounded in an attack by French and Indians at Ligonier. The other companies apparently were led by Christian Bussé, Joseph Scott, Samuel J. Atlee, William Patterson, William Reynolds, Martin Heidler (apparently only an ensign), Levi Trump (who was the third husband of President Anthony Palmer's widow), Jacob Morgan, Samuel Weiser, Alexander McKee, John Byers, John Haslett, John Singleton, and Robert Eastburn. The third battalion was commanded by Colonel Hugh Mercer, whose Lieutenant-Colonel was Patrick Work, and the other officers were Major George Armstrong, Surgeon Robert Bines, Chaplain Rev. Andrew Bay, Adjutant James Ewing, Quartermaster Thomas Hutchins, and Sergeant-Major Samuel Culbertson. The commanders of companies appear to have been Robert Boyd, John Blackwood, James Sharp, Adam Read, Samuel Nelson, John Montgomery, George Aston, Charles McClung, Robert McPher-

son, Paul Jackson(who was Professor of Latin at the College of Philadelphia), John Bull, William Biles, Archibald McGrew, Thomas Hamilton, Ludowick Stone, John Clark, John Allison, Job Rushton, Thomas Smith, Alexander Graydon, James Hyndshaw, William Biles of Bucks County, and Thomas Armour of York County. Two troops of light horse, commanded respectively by William Thompson and John Hambright, were also raised. Some of the minor officers above mentioned, like Major Orndt, and some of the companies were assigned to garrisoning posts like Fort Augusta, but the greater part of 2,700 Pennsylvanians took part in Forbes's expedition, in which there were also 1,200 regular soldiers of the regiment known as the Highlanders, 350 of the Royal American regiment, 1,600 Virginians under Washington, and others. Bouquet was a Lieutenant-Colonel of the Royal Americans, and was put in command of the advance guard. Sir John St. Clair, Braddock's Quartermaster-General, had the same position under Forbes, and after an errand to Virginia went to meet Bouquet, and proceeded to Carlisle in the middle of June. Bouquet advanced to Raystown (Bedford). Washington brought his troops to Fort Cumberland, only Stephens's two companies going by way of Shippensburg to Raystown. Parties began to open a road from Fort Cumberland to the latter place, and to repair Braddock's road. Washington and Bouquet in a conference differed as to route, the former urging that pursued by Braddock, who had widened and completed a road to within six miles of Fort Duquesne. Bouquet wished a new one cut directly from Raystown. Washington writes: "If Colonel Bouquet succeeds in this point with the General, all is lost,—all is lost, indeed—our enterprise will be ruined and we shall be stopped at the Laurel Hill this winter; but not to gather laurels except of the kind that covers the mountains." The reasons for the Raystown route were it was a few miles shorter, better forage was to be found, grass growing to the foot of the ridge of mountains, there were fewer defiles, and no considerable rivers. St. Clair

agreed with Bouquet, and Forbes, proceeding in July to Carlisle, adopted that plan, under Pennsylvania influence, Washington asserted. It was then suggested that Washington be allowed to take the troops he had at Fort Cumberland, by way of Braddock's road, and afterwards to unite with the main army, but Washington represented the bad effect of dividing strength, and in September was ordered to march to Raystown, Fort Cumberland being left to the care of Maryland militia. With inflammation of the stomach Forbes was kept at Carlisle until August 11, and was then carried, much emaciated, on a litter between two horses to Shippensberg. There his weakness kept him until September. St. Clair had gone from Bedford to make the road. Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe" says that he was extremely inefficient. It quotes him: "The greatest curse that our Lord can pronounce against the worst of sinners is to give them business to do with provincial commissioners and friendly Indians." From 1,000 to 2,000 men constantly worked at the road. While the main body of the army was at Raystown, Bouquet allowed Grant of the Highlanders with 800 men to make a reconnoissance from Loyal Hanna. They reached what was since called Grant's Hill, overlooking Fort Duquesne on Sept. 14. Here by the

Pennsylvania-Maryland
Five Mile Stone

One of the original Mason and Dixon Line markers, showing the Calvert Arms. Engraved for this work from a negative by D. E. Brinton

division of his forces an attack upon the open field before the fort was not supported: the French and Indians were in great numbers, and put the Highlanders opposed to them to rout. Piecemeal the various detachments were surrounded and decimated, Grant himself being captured. The total loss was 273 killed, wounded, and taken, among the wounded being Quartermaster Clayton. Bouquet, receiving the returning party, was harassed by a body of French hovering near his camp at Loyal Hanna, while Forbes, having reached Raystown, was detained by heavy rains.

On October 8, Denny and Croghan held another treaty with the Indians, in presence of six of Denny's councillors, six members of the Pennsylvania Assembly, two New Jersey commissioners for Indian affairs, and a number of Quakers. While only one Mohawk with one woman and two boys attended, and perhaps one Cayuga, there were men, women, and children of the other nations composing the Six Nations, also Nanticokes and Conoys, now one nation, Tuteloes, Chugnuts, Chehohockes alias Delawares and Unamis including Teedyuscung, Muncys, Mohicans, and Wapings or Pumptons, with the interpreters. Governor Bernard of New Jersey joined in the council on the 11th, and demanded from the Muncys the captives taken from his province. The Seneca chief then gave assurances of peace on behalf of the Delawares and Muncys and also stated that messages had been sent to the Delawares, Muncys, and those of the Six Nations on the Ohio to advise them to unite in peace. The Cayuga chief asked pardon for his young men. Denny granted this, and asked why the captives had not been delivered according to Teedyuscung's promise. Rev. Mr. Post and Pisquitomen and Thomas Hickman, an Ohio Indian, returning to Harris's Ferry from their visit to the Ohio, Post went to General Forbes, and the two others to Easton. Pisquitomen reported at this treaty. The chief men had sent him back to shake hands with and give a string of wampum to the Governor, Teedyuscung, and Israel Pemberton each. Beaver King, Shingass, Delaware George, and twelve other captains and

councillors promised by Pisquitomen to join in the peace. Then Nichas, the Mohawk chief, with great vehemence spoke in his own language, pointing to Teedyuscung. Weiser asked to be excused from interpreting, but obtained the Indians' consent for the interpretation to be made at a private conference. This was attended by the chiefs of the Six Nations and of the Conoys and Tuteloes. Then Nichas and Tagashata, the Seneca, and Assarandonquas, the Onondaga, and Thomas King, the Oneida, severally wanted to know who had made Teedyuscung a great man. They had never heard of his having any authority over ten nations, as he was claiming; they disowned it, and asked if the English had given it to him. Then the Cayuga chief and Nichas promised to satisfy the English as to the return of captives, adding: "If any of them are gone down our throats, we will heave them up again." The next day, the minutes of the private conference were read to Teedyuscung in the Delaware language at a meeting of all the Indians, and Denny explained that Teedyuscung had claimed to represent ten nations, but as a messenger for the Six Nations and as a chief for the Delawares only, and so he, Denny, had made him an agent to publish what was done at the council fires, but had given him no authority over the Six Nations, and never would impose any chief on any Indian tribe. Then Governor Bernard said that if the English called an Indian a king, they meant no more than sachem or chief: and he recognized that Teedyuscung was still a nephew to the Six Nations. Then Tagashata told Teedyuscung that the Six Nations had promised to return all captives, and so must the Delawares and Muncys. On the 18th, the counsellors of the Indians having finished, the warriors by Thomas King addressed some remarks to all the English on the continent. The cause of the war, he said, was that when some of the Shawanees were passing through South Carolina to fight their enemies, as they had done every year, the English had with friendly manner enticed them into their houses, and then arrested and imprisoned them, and put a head man to death: the Shawa-

nees had complained of this to the French when the latter came to the Ohio, and they had urged them to revenge themselves against the English: the Shawanees had said to the Delawares, "Grandfathers, are not your hearts sore at our being used so ill, and at the loss of one of your chiefs? Will you not join us in revenging his death?" so the young men of the Delawares had been induced to act against the English. Now as to the Senecas, eight of them returning from war with seven prisoners and scalps were met by 150 soldiers at Green Briar, Virginia, who under pretense of supplying them with food, took them to a store, and there disarmed them; the head men among the Indians cried out, "Here is death, defend yourselves as well as you can," in doing which two Indians were killed, and one, a boy, was taken prisoner: if this boy was alive, let him be returned. Then again, when the French came, the Indians wished implements of war to defend their lands, but the Governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia would not assist them, although the Governor of Virginia had taken care to settle on the Indian lands for his own benefit, and the English traders retired, so the Indians were obliged to trade with the French. Addressing himself to the Governor of New Jersey, Thomas King said that the Muncys believed that there were tracts here and there in the Jerseys which had never been sold, but they could not tell which; and protested against not being allowed to hunt deer or peel a single tree, that never having been the intention when the land was released. Addressing himself to the Governor of Pennsylvania, he said that at Albany 1,000 pieces of eight had been paid for the part of the land purchased which was settled by the Pennsylvanians, but the other part which was not paid for, the Indians reclaim: the warriors and hunters, when they heard that so much land had been sold, disapproved, and what was not settled was hunting ground. Teedyuscung then entered a complaint from the Waping, or Goshen, Indians, nine of whose people had been killed three years before. Then he asked if King George had decided the question as to the land which

the Delawares had claimed. While he was so speaking, the chiefs of the Six Nations one by one left the council, apparently in dudgeon. The next day at a private conference Governor Bernard offered to pay a reasonable sum to satisfy the Muncys, which was afterwards fixed at 1,000 Spanish dollars. Teedyuscung with his grandson and an interpreter went to Denny's house, and in the presence of Peters and Governor Bernard and Andrew Johnson said that the Delawares did not claim high up the Delaware River. At the public conference on the 20th Teedyuscung asked the Six Nations to clear up the matter of the land at Wyoming and Shamokin, where they had placed the Delawares, but which was now reported to have been sold. "I sit here as a bird on a bough; I look about and do not know where to go: let me therefore come down upon the ground, and make that my own by a good deed." Denny then reported that the Proprietaries were willing to release all of the land purchased at Albany which the Six Nations reclaimed, if the latter would confirm the residue of the purchase. So the mutual releases were executed, October 24. Pisquitomen and Thomas Hickman were sent back to the Ohio to bear assurances of pardon, and invitations to come to Philadelphia, and a

Pennsylvania-Maryland
Five Mile Stone

One of the original Mason and Dixon Line markers, showing the Penn Arms. Engraved for this work from a negative by D. E. Brinton

request to keep away from Fort Duquesne. Captain John Bull and William Hayes and Isaac Stille, the interpreter, and two Indians of the Six Nations, Tojenotawly, a Cayuga, and the youngest Shickcalamy, accompanied them. Thomas King promised to lay Teedyuscung's request for a confirmation of the lands of Wyoming and Shamokin before the great council of the Six Nations.

Washington wrote on October 30 from Loyal Hanna that had it not been for the accidental discovery of a new passage over the Laurel Hill, the carriages must have stopped on the eastern side, and he supposed the expedition would terminate for that year at Loyal Hanna, where the General and most of the army had not yet arrived. In the beginning of November, the whole army reached Loyal Hanna. On the General's arrival, a council of war decided that it was not advisable to proceed; but soon prisoners reported the smallness of the garrison at Fort Duquesne. The labors of the Pennsylvania messengers to the Indians had done the deed. Washington and Armstrong and their detachments cut a road to within a day's march of the fort. On November 18th, 2,500 picked men started on the way, reaching the hills of Turkey Creek on the evening of the 24th. The next day, with Forbes in a litter, they advanced. Reaching the object of their march at dusk, ready for battle or siege, they found it deserted, the barracks burnt, the fortifications blown up! A stockade was afterwards built around some cabins and huts, and the place was called Pittsburgh. On the site of Braddock's defeat, Major Halket found the skeleton of his father, Sir Peter. It was buried with another, probably the son who was also killed in the battle. Want of provisions forbade going on to Venango; so, leaving such garrison as could be fed, Forbes conducted his army back. He left early in December, and, delayed by poor health at Loyal Hanna, reached Philadelphia after the Assembly had voted to continue 1,400 men in service, and a day of thanksgiving had been observed for what proved to be the permanent expulsion of the French.

Yet Hugh Mercer, then colonel of the Virginia troops, and his command of 280 men left to garrison Pittsburgh was in considerable danger. Reassuring the neighboring Indians, whom Forbes had summoned, and with whom it was Mercer's duty to hold conference, he was receiving words of devotion and giving his provisions, while the commander at Venango was offering belts to induce the Six Nations, Delawares, and Shawanees to strike him, and over-Lake Indians were forming a confederacy under French direction to destroy the Six Nations, and storing arms, etc., for it at Kuskusky (on a branch of Beaver Creek in Butler county). Forbes was too ill to see Indian messengers who in the winter followed him to Philadelphia, but Rev. Mr. Peters saw them, and, in denial of the French statement that the English wanted to take the red man's land, Forbes communicated with them, and declared that the English had no intention of settling west of the Alleghanies. He also assured them that any Indians joining his forces would be well supported. But the Indian messengers were scarcely satisfied with this indefinite suggestion, and more than discouraged by nobody having ordered for them a tub of punch during their long stay.

The British government before hearing of the taking of Fort Duquesne made by Pitt's letter on Dec. 9, 1758, application for the raising of a still greater force for service by the 1st of May following. The Assembly, in reply to Denny's message laying this before it, called his attention to the loss of horses and wagons taken into service and for which the owners were unpaid, the abuse of the inhabitants by both officers and soldiers employed to secure such means of transportation, the violence of officers in forcing troops into private houses, and also the continuance of William Moore of Chester county in the magistracy notwithstanding the Assembly's attempt to impeach him and its representation of his arbitrary, unjust, and illegal conduct: the hope was expressed that the Governor would speedily redress these grievances to the utmost of his power, and then the Assembly

would co-operate with the efforts made for further military operations. A copy of this answer, which made the redress of grievances a condition upon which alone the money would be granted, Denny forwarded to General Jeffrey Amherst, who had succeeded General Abercrombie as commander-in-chief of the forces in North America. Amherst wrote back that it was an unexpected answer, particularly as part of the grievances were owing to Forbes's illness. As the latter had been so prevented from redressing them, he, Amherst, would do so when in a few days he would come to Philadelphia; meanwhile Sir John St. Clair should prepare the accounts. As to the officers and soldiers not showing due regard to the law for supplying the forces with horses and carriages, it was not to be supposed that they would apply for more than they required, and if they could not get them otherwise, it was their duty to impress them. Similarly, if there were not public houses to quarter the soldiers, they must be put in private houses; how would it be possible to carry on the service if the soldiers must perish in the streets? If, however, the troops were guilty of any irregularities, he would not screen them. In conclusion, he could not furnish regulars to garrison Fort Augusta; and he expected the Assembly at once to pay and clothe the Pennsylvania troops.

On March 11, 1759, he who by a combination of circumstances not perhaps altogether brought about by his ability had driven the French from the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela, the most important military event in Pennsylvania before the battle of Gettysburg, paid with his life the penalty of overwork and neglect of health, but the price for his place in history. General Forbes died in Philadelphia, and was buried in Christ Church, where very recently a tablet was erected to his memory. A report was circulated that Colonel William Byrd of Virginia was to succeed him in command of the troops of Pennsylvania and other southern provinces, and members of the Assembly went to Denny to ask him to join in a remonstrance to General Amherst. They

said that it would be useless to vote supplies, as no one would enlist, and the Indians would take umbrage at seeing a Virginia colonel in command. Denny called together his councillors, but in the midst of their deliberations a servant came in to say that Brigadier General Stanwix had arrived in town and a letter was handed to Denny from Amherst announcing Stanwix's appointment.

As it appeared in 1868. The house was built in 1768, and at the time the original sketch of this illustration was made, it was the oldest house in the county. For a time it was occupied by Heckewelder, Moravian missionary. Photographed especially for this work from a print in possession of the Tioga Point Historical Society

As it appears to-day. Engraved especially for this work from a negative by Louise E. Murray

Heckewelder House, Bradford County

In August, 1757, the same month that the deeds were being shown to Teedyuscung, Benjamin Franklin in London handed to the Proprietaries three heads of complaint, viz.:

First—That the reasonable and necessary power given to deputy governors of Pennsylvania by the royal charter, sections 4 and 5, of making laws with the advice and consent of the Assembly for raising money for the safety of the country and other public uses according to their best discretion is taken away by Proprietary instructions enforced by penal bonds and restraining the deputy from the use of his best discretion; though, being on the spot, he can better judge of the emergency, state, and necessity of af-

fairs than Proprietaries residing at a great distance, by means of which restraints sundry sums of money granted by the Assembly for the defence of the province have been rejected by the deputy, to the great injury of his Majesty's service in time of war and danger of the loss of the colony.

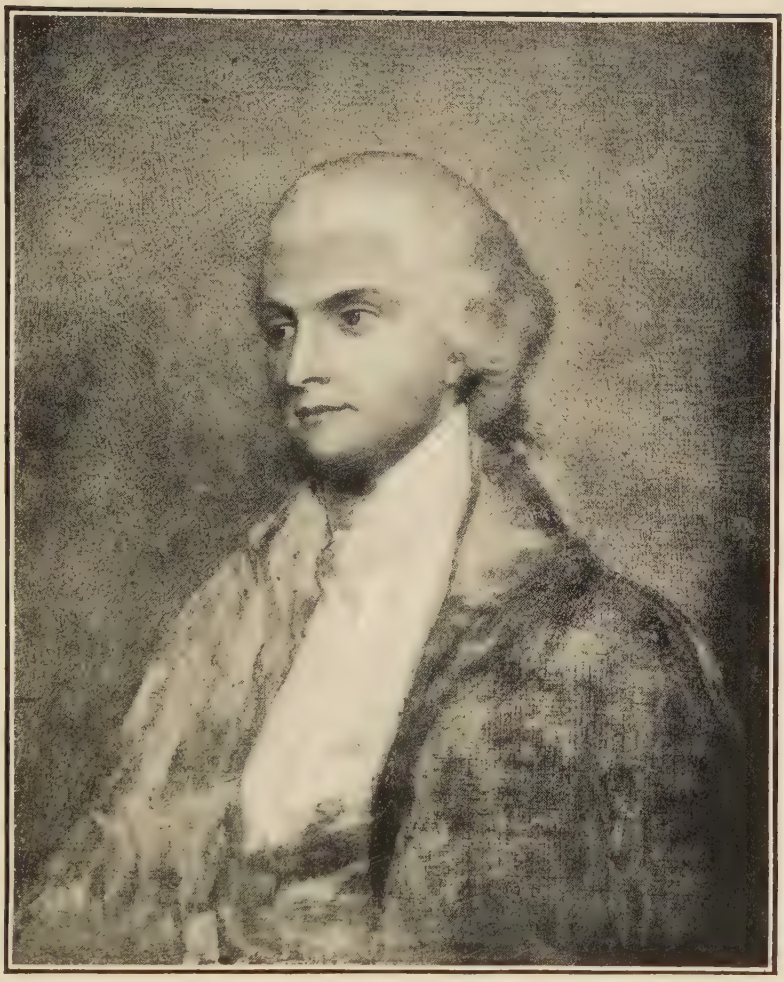
Second—That the indubitable right of the Assembly to judge of the mode, measure, and time of granting supplies is infringed by instructions that enjoin the deputy to refuse his assent to any bill for raising money unless certain modes, measures, and times in such instructions directed be made a part of the bill, whereby the Assembly in time of war are reduced to the necessity of either losing the country to the enemy or giving up the liberties of the people and receiving law from the Proprietary; and if they should do the latter in the present case it would not prevent the former, the restricting instructions being such that if complied with it is impossible to raise a sum sufficient to defend the country.

Third—That the Proprietaries have enjoined their deputy by such instructions to refuse his assent to any law for raising money by a tax, though ever so necessary for the defence of the country, unless the greatest part of their estate is exempted from such tax. This to the Assembly and people of Pennsylvania seems both unjust and cruel.

In conclusion the Proprietaries were asked to redress these grievances. Those careful gentlemen, or rather Thomas Penn, decided to consult the King's Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General, and so notified Franklin; and one of the agents of the province was blamed for the delay of a year in receiving the opinions, based upon which the Proprietaries then answered in the first place, that instead of leaving matters to a Lieutenant-Governor whom the Assembly would pay or not according as he surrendered his discretion, the Proprietaries would instruct and by penal bonds control him, instructions being given to and bonds required from every one intrusted with the government of any British colony, instructions being given even to those executing the

regal government in the King's absence, the Proprietaries being repeatedly commanded by the Crown on the nomination of a Lieutenant-Governor to give instructions, and a Lieutenant-Governor being able by misbehavior to bring the estate and franchise into danger. The Proprietaries then offered to have their income inquired into, and if the 5,000*l.* already given was less than the portion their estate which was in its nature taxable should pay, to make good the balance, if the Assembly would return the excess if there should turn out to be any. Then they offered to settle with the agents the terms of a supply bill, but Franklin disclaimed the power so to bind the Assembly. The Proprietaries sent a message to the Assembly, dated Nov. 28, 1758, enclosing a copy of their answer, and offering as to any matters not concerning property a conference with "any persons of candor" whom the Assembly would appoint. Franklin asked them whether they would consent to a law directing the inquiry into their income, what parts of their estate they deem to be in its nature taxable, whether the 5,000*l.* already contributed were to be compared with their share of past taxation or to include their share of taxes for the ensuing and future years, and whether by the expressions about a right to dispose of their estates and properties as the Assembly had of their constituents', it was meant that the Assembly should dispose of what the people paid, and the Proprietaries of what they paid. The Proprietaries and Franklin came to an agreement that the Lieutenant-Governor should approve of such a law as was passed the preceding year, and a decision should be obtained from the officials of the Crown as to what estates of the Proprietaries were in their nature liable to taxation, which decision the Assembly desired the agents to obtain. A bill was presented to Denny on March 24 for striking off 100,000*l.* and sinking the same by a tax on real and personal estates. Denny proposed amendments to make it plain that 18*d.* per *l.* were to be levied on the clear yearly rents of lands leased and the clear annual income of improved lands cultivated by the owners and the interest on the value of the

unimproved lots in Philadelphia or in towns or adjoining improved lands, and another amendment exempting the Proprietary estates, inasmuch as there was no provision for taxing them except by the regular assessors, whereas the Proprietaries insisted upon commissioners named in the act. Nevertheless he informed the Assembly that the Proprietaries were ready to pay taxes on their quit rents and appropriated tracts if on examination the 5,000*l.* which they had given fell short of their share of past and future taxation. The House adhered to its bill, so the Lieutenant-Governor rejected it, and on April 5 a new bill for the purpose was brought to him. This he rejected because commissioners were not named to settle the taxes on the Proprietary estates. When the Assembly had announced adherence to this bill, Denny acquainted General Amherst, who had arrived in Philadelphia, with the state of the case. The General sent for Norris, the Speaker, and some of the members, and used his best endeavors to have a bill passed like those of preceding years, but in vain. Finally he sent them word that he would withdraw the King's forces if the same number of provincial troops as in the past year were not raised. The Assembly merely used this in a message to Denny as an argument why he should yield. The councillors urged him not to, and pointed out that the bill was worse than any others: it subjected the Proprietary estates to all taxes from which they had been exempted in former acts, making them pay in one year the taxes for four years, and might result in the sale of the estates by the commissioners and assessors who were chosen in this time of popular fury against the Proprietaries. But General Amherst, following the example of the Earl of Loudoun, asked Denny to waive the Proprietary instructions, promising to explain the necessity to the King's ministers. So on April 17 the supply bill was passed by Denny into a law, and the raising of troops required for garrisoning the frontier forts or joining the operations in the offensive was secured. The Assembly tried to have two laws made, one designed against the Proprietaries, being



John Penn

Member Provincial Council, 1753; commissioner to the Albany Congress, 1754; lieutenant-governor, 1763-1771, and 1771-1776; arrested by order of Continental Congress, 1777, and released 1778; died in Bucks county, 1795

for the recording of warrants and surveys, and rendering real estate more secure, and the other designed particularly, it was supposed, against the college at Philadelphia, of which the son-in-law of William Moore of Chester county, Rev. William Smith, D. D., from Scotland, was president, or provost, this law being for the more effectual suppression of lotteries and plays. This college, the parent of the University of Pennsylvania, was under the control of the friends of the Proprietaries, and had been made a Latin school, somewhat in opposition to the plan of Dr. Franklin, who was, after all, its founder. Of late the chief support had come from lotteries. That means of raising money had been used for various purposes, although prohibited by a former law, which imposed a fine of 100*l.*, half going to the Governor, who had been in the habit of remitting his half when a public purpose was to be subserved. The councillors deeming the prohibition of plays an unreasonable restraint upon innocent diversions, fortified their opinion by recalling that in Queen Anne's time a law of Pennsylvania of such import had been repealed by the Queen. The Lieutenant-Governor accordingly proposed amendments to these projects: but having once broken through his instructions, under the guarantee of General Amherst, afterwards when the Assembly on June 10 sent him an act for re-emitting the bills of credit of the province theretofore re-emitted on loan and for striking the further sum of 36,650*l.* to enable the trustees to send 50,000*l.* to Colonel John Hunter, agent for the contractors, as a loan, the Lieutenant-Governor disregarded the unanimous advice against more paper money from his Council, Strettell, Peters, Cadwalader, Turner, and Chew, and told them that the Proprietaries' interest must not stand in competition with the operations of the campaign, and asked the Assembly to add 25,000*l.* to the loan to Hunter, and allow him more time, and to insert the usual allowance to the Proprietaries for the exchange on their quit rents due in sterling money. The only amendment the Assembly made was to allow Hunter more time. Stanwix asked him to pass the bill,

being anxious to have the contractors paid. Rev. Richard Peters explained to Stanwix the injustice it would work to the Proprietaries, and Stanwix expressed great concern at the Assembly's attitude, some of the members having told him plainly that, this probably being the last campaign, they would never again have such an opportunity of obtaining what they thought just against the Proprietaries, and preserving the powers and privileges to which they were entitled, and of which the Proprietaries wished to deprive them. Stanwix told Peters that he would set this matter in its true light before the King's ministers, that these acts of injustice might not be confirmed. On June 18, Denny told his Council, of whom there were then present the aforesaid five and also Shoemaker and Lardner, that he had heard much from them about the Proprietaries, but there had been a remarkable silence as to the King's letters; he considered himself laid under express command to forward the general service; and loyalty and obedience was due to the King as well as a regard to the Proprietaries. The councillors were shocked by a charge of disloyalty, repelled it, and said that they had heard and believed that Denny would pass the bill not so much from regard for the King as for other reasons. Then Chew read a protest which had been drawn up before the meeting, upon the councillors hearing that there had been an agreement between Denny and certain members of the Assembly to secure his assent to the bill. The protest set forth the great quantity of paper money afloat, the want of a suspending clause until the King's assent be obtained, the power of the Assembly over the interest from the loans, etc. In the afternoon Denny sent word to the Assembly that he withdrew his amendments, and would pass the bill. Denny also passed the bill for suppressing lotteries and plays, and the House voted to him 1,000*l*. When the Assembly had made some amendments to the bill for recording warrants and surveys, although his councillors urged him to wait for a proper bill on the subject, he passed it, and received a second grant of 1,000*l*. The Assembly also by vote

promised to indemnify Denny from any loss which he might sustain from the prosecution by the Proprietaries of his bond.

While General Stanwix, proceeding to Bedford, was having trouble in securing the necessary horses and wagons for his march to the westward, the retreat of the French from Ticonderoga and Crown Point, their surrender of Niagara after it had been stormed by the British, and the rout of 1,200 French from Detroit, Venango, and Presque Isle coming to the relief of Niagara, and the adhesion of the Indians to the peace, brought about the evacuation and destruction of the French forts in Pennsylvania: Venango, Le Boeuf, and Presque Isle. This was made permanent by the capture of Quebec and the building of a more substantial fort at Pittsburgh.

CHAPTED XVII.

THE MEN OF THE FRONTIER

FROM Holme's map of the first purchases, Davis's History of Bucks County, and Smith's History of Delaware County, if not from what we have said in the preceding chapters, the reader can gather that down to the death of William Penn all of what is now Bucks beyond Newtown, all of Montgomery beyond Norristown, and all of what is now Chester would have been called the frontier. After or contemporary with the religious communities of which the works of Sachse have given details, and which made settlements along the northern side of the Schuylkill and at Ephrata, came new emigrants from Wales, mostly Baptists, to the northern end of the colony. The Quakers spread little except from the increase of families. The Scotch-Irish soon after Penn's death led the way to the Susquehanna.

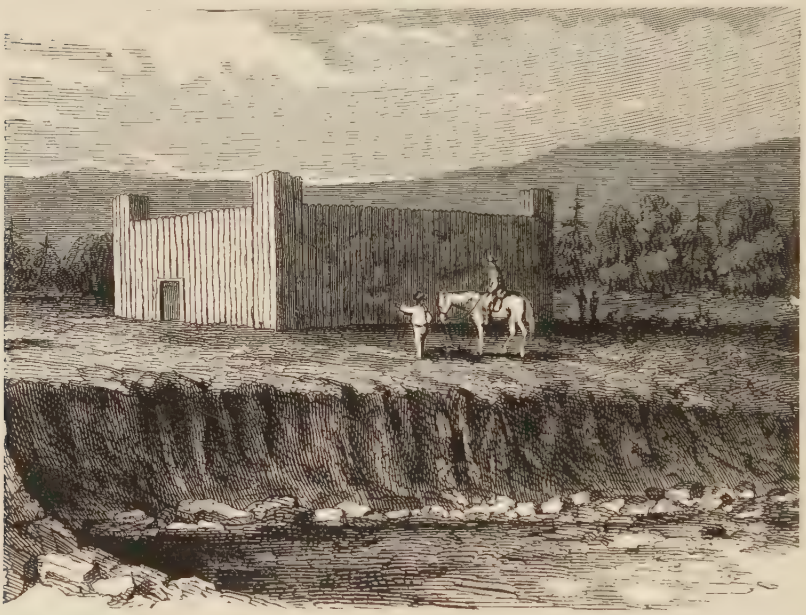
James Logan, secretary, receiver-general and surveyor-general previous to the mortgage of 1708, was one of the attorneys for the mortgagees and the most active trustee for the sale of the Pennsylvania lands appointed in Penn's will. Sir William Keith made some effort to take the control of this land business out of Logan's hands. Keith's interference, althought it was not legal, advanced the outposts of the cavalry in three ways, viz., the invitation to the Germans to settle at Tulpehocken, of which we have spoken; the procuring of a survey, by virtue of an old right which he had bought, of a tract on the western bank of the Susquehanna, where he established a plantation called Newberry,

after his wife's maiden name; and the establishment of a manor of 70,000 acres for Springett Penn and called Springettsbury adjoining Newberry on the south (in York county). Any right which Springett Penn took by this was probably as trustee for the Proprietaries, and assigned to them by his brother William's release. Many years afterwards the manor was resurveyed with different dimensions. The enormous immigration of Germans induced the Anglo-Saxon majority in the Assembly in 1729 to impose a protective tariff, not on goods, but on persons, of so much a head. In 1730, it is said, there were about 15,000 adherents of the German Reformed confession in Pennsylvania. Thomas Penn attempted to make sales, once by a lottery scheme, at the very edge of the Indian purchases on the Delaware.

As the Moravians entered the Indian country with gospel work as one of their chief purposes, they are not included by us with the belligerent people at the foot of the Blue Mountains when we speak of frontiersmen, although they were the northernmost settlers at the time of the arrival of Denny.

The German Lutherans had begun to congregate before 1743, when the Rev. Henry Melchior Mühlenberg established the Augustus church at Trappe (Montgomery county). Not long afterwards he organized a Lutheran synod. He married a daughter of Conrad Weiser. We have seen how the frontiers receded during the French and Indian war, and the white man's country may be said not to have extended beyond the present Franklin and Cumberland and the southern half of the present Dauphin, Lebanon, and Berks counties at the time at which the last chapter closes. Beyond were a few forts, Pitt and Augusta being the most important. The land for miles within this border was occupied by detached settlements of Germans and Scotch-Irish. The change of the aforesaid Mühlenberg's son from preacher to general in the pulpit, which was one of the striking incidents of the Revolution, had been often less dramatically paralleled among the descendants of the Covenanters in this earlier war. The

statues of John Peter Gabriel Mühlenberg and Robert Fulton, although one took up arms in Virginia, and the other started a steam boat in New York, represent the two dominant elements of the interior population of the State which presented the statues



Forty Fort

Situated near Wilkes-Barre, 100 feet from the river; erected 1770; rebuilt in 1777. Engraved for this work from a print in Wyoming Historical and Geological Society

to the Capitol at Washington. These elements were separated ecclesiastically from the element which bore sway in the older settlement, where William Allen, the only holder of important office, was a Presbyterian. Since the Swedes element had become insignificant, political power was shared between the Quakers and the adherents of the Church of England. Then also,

while Allen was the richest inhabitant of Pennsylvania, the other rich men were Quakers or Churchmen. One fact about social conditions in Colonial Pennsylvania must be noted. Among the first purchases while the Founder was in England there had been some tracts of 5,000 acres, and Dr. Nicholas Moore and the Growdons had located theirs respectively in one place; and the Free Society of Traders, of which Moore was president, had larger tracts in several places, and some right to exercise baronial jurisdiction, its so-called manor in Chester county becoming many years later the property of Nathaniel Newlin: but the abrogation from the first of the law of primogeniture, the application of a decedent's land to the payment of debts, and the temptation to sell by the rapid demand for smaller quantities, caused these tracts to be subdivided, and when various members of the Penn family aside from the Proprietaries themselves received large quantities of land and sold them to single purchasers, the latter, buying on speculation, soon sold off pieces. Thus the real estate in any given locality owned by a resident there, aside from the Proprietaries themselves, amounted at the most to large farms held in fee. There were no great estates occupied by a landed gentry remote from the chief city, as in Virginia and New York. The rich men of Pennsylvania and those who deemed themselves its aristocracy were nearly all merchants or merchants' sons. Growdon of Bucks county and William Logan of Philadelphia county were the only members of the Council not residents of Philadelphia, unless we count Hamilton, who lived just beyond Vine street. We have seen that the councillors were the representatives of the Proprietaries. Originally all being members of the Society of Friends, it was a long time the policy that an equal number should be taken from that Society and the Church of England, but latterly most of the ostensible Friends were of the variety who believed in defensive war, and Logan, Shoemaker, and to some extent Growdon were the only ones in sympathy with the mass of attendants at Meeting. In the Assembly, however, after the excitement

of the war had subsided, Quakers began to resume control. Among them was Shoemaker's son-in-law, Edward Penington, descended from a half brother of William Penn's first wife; so that this representative of the people was a relative of the elder line of Penns. A leading spirit of the Assembly after Isaac Norris the Speaker, and in the absence of Benjamin Franklin, who, although continuously re-elected until 1764, was now agent in London, was Growdon's son-in-law, Joseph Galloway, a lawyer of a Quaker family in Maryland.

Among the other measures of the Assembly to which the admirers of Franklin and the advocates of popular rights against the Proprietaries' interest induced Denny to consent, were three: one respecting the courts of judicature, one for the relief of the heirs, devisees, and assigns of persons born out of the King's allegiance who had been owners of lands within the Province, and died unnaturalized, and the third for appointing an agent to receive Pennsylvania's share of £200,000 granted by Parliament to the colonies in return for part of the war expenses. The first of these acts transferred the business of the Orphans' Court to the county courts, but this was not what affected the Proprietaries. The act changed the tenure of judges from during the good pleasure of the Governors, in whom the appointment was vested, to during good behavior, as in England, the reason for the act, of course, being to secure the independence of the judiciary, an argument against it before the Privy Council being that by the increased wealth of the Province from time to time better salaries could be afforded and better talent secured. The act for the relief of the heirs, etc., of unnaturalized persons took away the Proprietaries' right to the decedent's land by escheat. It was said that this right had not been rigorously exercised, but that it had been the practice to make a new grant to those who would have taken had the decedent been naturalized. These two acts being to advance the equality of men before the law, the third act was not relished because the money was to go from the British treas-

ury to the Bank of England through the hands of the great philosopher of equality, Benjamin Franklin.

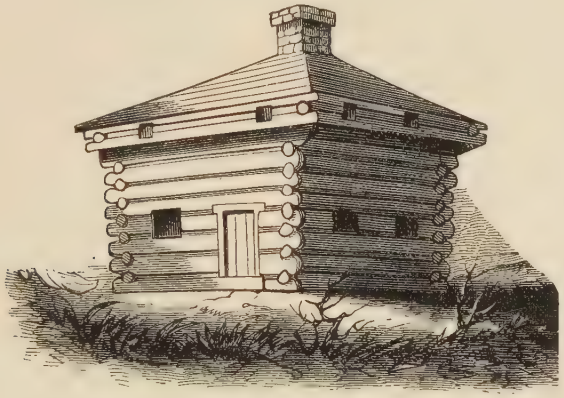
Even before Denny at Amherst's request broke through the instructions from the Proprietaries, they began looking out for a new Lieutenant-Governor, but kept this a secret from Franklin, so that Denny should not know of it until his successor should be ready to embark. Before Franklin's letter of June 10, 1758, Mr. Graves of the Temple had the refusal of the office, with the Penn's town-house and country-house rent free, and their guarantee of £900 sterling per annum. They told him that he could live easily on £500, keeping a coach, etc., and referred him to Hamilton, who said that he could; but Robert Hunter Morris said that he could not. Therefore inquiries were made of Franklin, through a friend, and Graves declined. Evidently Denny had learned that his official days were numbered, before he made his peace with the Assembly. But his office was a long time going begging. James Hamilton being in England, the reappointment of him was thought of. The matter being delayed, he wrote a short note dated London, April 4, to the effect, that, as every one knew he had not solicited it, he was not disposed to recede from the terms on which he had agreed to take it, viz.: that he be not restrained from assenting to any reasonable bill for taxing the Proprietary estates in common with all the other estates in the province; for in his opinion it was no more than just. Finally the commission was issued to Hamilton, bearing date July 19, 1759. He took the oath before King George II and the Privy Council at Whitehall August 10, 1759; and on November 17 arrived in Philadelphia. The Penns instructed him, first, as was natural from large property holders, to make a final effort by the most prudent means to prevent the Assembly from including any part of the Proprietary estate in any tax raised by it; but, secondly, if a tax on this estate at all were necessary, to levy it on the quit-rents, the tenants paying the tax, and deducting it from the rent; and to make proper arrangements for justly assessing other people's estates;

and on no account to authorize the sale of Proprietary lands for taxes. The following year, a bill was presented for raising 100,000*l.* The Assembly could not be induced to allow the appointment of commissioners to whom the Proprietaries might appeal in a case of over-assessment, although Hamilton repeated the old argument that the county assessors, to whom alone the Assembly would commit the subject, did not represent the Proprietaries, who had no voice in their appointment, but only the inhabitants who elected them. Hamilton added that nothing was further from his thoughts than to desire an exemption of the Proprietary estates: "All I contend for is that they may be put upon an equal foot with others." The Assembly adhered to the bill, and Hamilton, finding the money was necessary, gave his assent under protest.

A law was made prohibiting any person or persons singly or in companies from hunting, chasing, or following any deer, wild beast, wild fowl, or game, or setting traps for beaver or other beasts outside of the limits of the lands purchased by the Proprietaries from the Indians: and assurances were sent to a great council of western Indians that no settlements should be made west of the Alleghanies.

When the various acts assented to by Denny came before the King in Council, the Proprietaries petitioned against eleven of them, and hired the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General of England to argue the matter before the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. The agents of the Assembly, Franklin and Robert Charles, son-in-law of Lieutenant-Governor Patrick Gordon, secured Messrs. De Grey and Jackson as counsel, these raising two points: first, that the King's right to repeal laws passed by the Governor and Assembly was limited to such as the King deemed inconsistent with his sovereignty or prerogative or the faith and allegiance due by the Proprietaries or people; and, second, that the Proprietaries were excluded by the consent given by their Lieutenant-Governor to the laws from complaining to the

King and obtaining relief by the exercise of any discretion which he might have. The five placemen serving as Commissioners reported in favor of the wider view of the King's prerogative: their argument was that as the charter of Charles II said that the laws were to be consonant to reason and as far as convenient agreeable to the laws of England, it must be presumed that the Crown, which had reserved the lesser right of judgment upon



Stewart's Block House

Situated in the Wyoming Valley, near the Susquehanna river; built by Captain Lazarus Stewart in 1771. Reproduced by courtesy of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society

appeal, had reserved the greater right of legislation, which, moreover, was independent of any charter. Very properly, it seems to us, they did not allow the Proprietaries to be estopped from complaining of the act of their deputy; the Crown, it was argued, had the right to any information from Proprietaries and people, and the circumstances under which the deputy had assented made it particularly hard to allow him to shut them off from relief. On the subject of taxing the Proprietary estates other than rents, which the Proprietaries agreed should be taxed, the Commissioners reported that neither the unlocated waste land nor the located

unimproved land was a proper subject for taxation, and the method of levying it by this act, leaving the assessment absolutely in the hands of assessors in whose appointment the Proprietaries had no voice, was unfair, and the provision for sale in case of non-payment, was unwarrantable, such a thing being unheard of in England. The encroachment upon the executive power by the Assembly in insisting upon the nomination of the officers provided for by the act was very exceptionable, and the making of paper money a legal tender for quit rents due in sterling was unjust. The Commissioners urged the King to maintain the prerogative even when held by subjects like the Proprietaries, and even when they had been remiss in protecting it, and particularly in Pennsylvania, where there was no upper house in the legislature. The Commissioners reported in favor of the repeal of the aforesaid supply bill, of the act for re-emitting bills of credit and loaning to John Hunter, of the act supplemental to the same, of the act for recording warrants and surveys, of the act against lotteries and plays, of the courts of judicature act, and of the act for relief of heirs, etc., of unnaturalized decedents. The act for appointing the agent to receive the money, however, they recommended for approval; so Franklin scored a personal triumph. While this report was before the Committee of the Privy Council for Plantation Affairs, the Proprietaries, by a compromise arranged by Lord Mansfield, promised for the sake of peace to instruct their Lieutenant-Governor to assent to a bill for paying off the 100,000*l.* authorized by the supply bill in the form of said bill amended as the Lords declared to be necessary; that is to say that, first, the real estate to be taxed be defined so as not to include the Proprietaries' unsurveyed waste lands; secondly, their located but uncultivated lands be assessed not higher than the lowest rate at which any located uncultivated lands of the inhabitants should be assessed; thirdly, all lands of the Proprietaries within boroughs and towns be deemed located uncultivated lands and not rated as lots; fourthly, the acting Governor's consent be necessary to

every issue and application of the bills of credit raised by the act; fifthly, Provincial commissioners be named to hear and determine appeals; and sixthly, the payment of rents to the Proprietaries be made according to the terms of the grants. The agents of the province then engaged that if the present act were not repealed the Assembly would pass a bill to amend it according to these six requirements. Upon this agreement, the King allowed the act to stand. When pressed to carry out the agreement, the Assembly made an examination of the assessors' books, and told the Governor that the unsurveyed waste land had not been, and was never intended to be, assessed; that the located uncultivated lands had not been assessed higher than the inhabitants' lands under like circumstances; that only in a few instances had the lots in boroughs and towns been assessed, and these as low as the lots sold; that it was never the intention to contravene the stipulations for quit rents, and that as the law would soon expire by limitation they hoped the Governor would lay the state of the matter before his superiors, and that the act passed in 1760 would receive the Royal approbation. General Amherst asked for the raising of 300 soldiers by the Province; the Assembly, after pointing out that it had granted upwards of 500,000*l.* since the commencement of the war, and that compliance with the proposed alterations and amendments in regard to taxing the Proprietary estates, "must be esteemed a high breach of trust by the people," then, on April 18, 1761, passed a bill for granting 30,000*l.* in the usual mode of bills of credit to be redeemed by taxation, and coupled this with provision for superintendence by the Assembly of the expenditure, and also making the bills of credit a legal tender for quit rents. Hamilton begged that the money sufficient for raising the troops be appropriated from what was already in the hands of the agents in England, so as to avoid controversy.

At this time, with England and France still at war, and most of the Indian tribes friendly to France, although the English were in undisturbed possession of Canada, and the Six Nations

were in alliance with the English, the peace lately made with the Delawares and other Pennsylvania Indians, who were very willing to assert their independence of the Six Nations, was jeopardized by the coming of settlers from Connecticut. The Susquehanna company, of which Joseph Skinner, Jabez Fitch, Eliphalet Dyer, John Smith, Ezekiel Pierce, Lemuel Smith, and Robert Dixon were the committee, had obtained a deed from certain of the Six Nations for a large tract sixty or seventy miles in breadth north and south extending from about ten miles east of the Susquehanna, in depth crossing the river westward two degrees. The design was to make a new colony there, and accordingly application was made soon after this purchase to the Assembly of Connecticut for its acquiescence in their obtaining a charter for it from the King. The Assembly passed a resolution that it would make no opposing claim to the soil. The appeal to the King does not appear to have been prosecuted until another company had made some progress in a settlement of the region east of what the Susquehanna company claimed.

In pursuance of a grant from the government of Connecticut of a tract extending thirty miles on the west side of the Delaware and westward to the mountains, embracing a large part of what is now Wayne county, Pennsylvania, with power to extinguish the Indian title, a large number of proprietors, or adventurers, had secured two deeds from certain of the Delaware tribe, said to have been residents of New Jersey. The tract included land which had borne the name of Cushietunk. Here a committee laid out three townships, each being ten miles along the river and eight miles in depth westward, and settlers came, built about thirty cabins, and started three log houses, a saw mill, and a grist mill, as the Pennsylvania sheriff and magistrates of Northampton county, sent by Hamilton to investigate, found in the fall of 1760. These officials remonstrated with the twenty men who with women and children were on the spot, but received answer that they would hold the region until the highest authority decided against their

title. Teedyuscung, who had been received into the Moravian Church, and had been instrumental in causing the return by various Indians of some captives, entered a formal complaint, and warned Hamilton that if any white people should settle on the west side of the Susquehanna at Wyoming, the Indians would drive them off. Teedyuscung was angry when he received a let-

John Wilkes

Member of Parliament, after whom Wilkes Barre was named; born 1727; died 1797. Photographed especially for this work from a copy in Wyoming Historical and Geological Society

ter from Sir William Johnson asking when the Delawares would meet him for an examination of the complaint as to land against the Proprietaries. Teedyuscung, perhaps because he knew that Johnson was so close to the Six Nations that he would see things with their eyes, and not recognize any ownership by the Delawares, said that he would have nothing to do with him, but desired the matter to be heard by Hamilton. The latter, seeing the Indian so earnest, said that he would consider the request,

but told Teedyuscung that all the Delawares on the Ohio as well as the Susquehanna should be informed, and should attend the treaty. Teedyuscung replied that Shingass and others on the Ohio had talked with him on the subject, and would be at Philadelphia in the spring. Hamilton wrote to Johnson stating his suspicion that the Proprietaries' enemies had suggested this action by the Indian claimant, so that they could manage the whole proceeding by its taking place in Philadelphia; "but," Hamilton added, "if nevertheless these officious people would not interfere, and you shall judge from the present circumstances of affairs, and the minds of the Six Nation Indians, who may be consulted as being concerned to support their own rights and proceedings, that my hearing it will contribute to the general good, I will not decline it; but then, should you advise me to undertake this, I beg leave to use the precaution of assuring you that if I find any undue influence or any partial interferings from the people of this city, I will desist, and leave it to be heard by you." Hamilton desired Johnson to obtain General Amherst's interposition in the matter of the Connecticut claimants, as the intrusion into the Indian country might readily result in alienating the red men from the English. The old Susquehanna company claiming by deeds from Mohawks and the Delaware company claiming by the aforesaid deeds from Delawares, undertook to unite. Johnson sent to Cushietunk a message that if the white people were there to trade, let them treat the Indians well, but a settlement must not be made. Those who received this message answered that they would listen only to the Governor of Connecticut, and they told some Indians that in the spring they would come 4,000 strong to Wyoming.

Deputies from the Onondagas, Cayugas, Oneidas, Mohicans, Nanticokes, Delawares, Tutelos, and Conoys, a company of five hundred men, women, and children, arrived at Easton in July, 1761, met Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton and Peters and Chew and Joseph Fox, and reported the adhesion of seven nations across the lakes to the English alliance. Teedyuscung said that he had

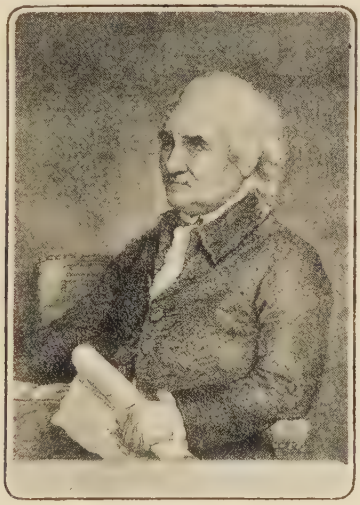
been advised by the Six Nations to leave Wyoming on account of the white people coming over the mountain, and as the Six Nations had not given him a deed for it, he believed that he would. Joseph Peepy complained that Sir William Johnson had promised to make war on the French, and after conquering them to establish a trade whereby these Indians could get articles cheap and a good value for their furs, but now the furs brought nothing, very little ammunition was given to them, and forts were surrounding them so that they were penned in like hogs and threatened with death; neither Johnson nor the Governor of Virginia had dealt fairly with them; they would speak only to the Governor of Pennsylvania. Tokahaio declared that the Six Nations had not sold the land, and desired no English beyond the line of the last treaty of purchase by the Penns, and asked the Governor to assist in having the strangers removed. As the goods the Indians bought from Sir William Johnson were very dear, they would like a trading house at Tioga especially to supply powder and lead, but not strong liquor, the prices to be reasonable, so as to make Johnson sell cheaper. Hamilton in reply tried to disabuse the Indians' minds as to Johnson, and told them that Tioga was too far off for a trading post, whereas there was one at Pittsburg and another at Shamokin. It being said that two Tuscaroras, one Oneida, and one Mohawk had privately made the deed for the Wyoming land, Hamilton suggested the summoning of them before the great council of the Six Nations and the cancellation of the deed. Teedyuscung told the Six Nations that when he went to Wyoming, he supposed that they would give him the land there in place of his land sold to the English, and he told Hamilton that he now desired him to pay for the land as to which the complaint had been made to the King: there were some present who had never received any compensation, but the Muncys and some at Alleghany would agree with the Lieutenant-Governor when they came. Hamilton asked what lands he meant, and he replied that the lands were where they were now standing, be-

tween the mountains and Tohiccon, but the tract about Durham four miles square had been paid for. Tokahaio expressed a desire to have the Delawares satisfied. Hamilton then referred to the decision of the Six Nations in 1742 ordering Teedyuscung to Wyoming, and announced readiness to lay the deeds before Sir William Johnson when Teedyuscung should appoint time and place. Afterwards at Philadelphia Isaac Stille, the interpreter, reported that Teedyuscung had said that he did not himself know anything about the Proprietaries having cheated the Indians: the French had put it into the heads of the foolish young men, who had obliged him to mention it to Governor Morris at Easton. Joseph Peepy told Hamilton that he was sorry that Thomas Penn had been "scandalized," and added: "I am sensible that neither my relations nor I ever received satisfaction for the little piece that I claim as my share of those lands. My aunt, who is an old woman and knows all about the matter, is now alive and would be glad if the Governor would take pity on her, and make her some satisfaction for her piece of land."

Teedyuscung, for some reason which many will say was simply the treachery of the Indian character, afterwards wrote to Sir William Johnson that he expected to see the latter in Philadelphia in the early summer and depended solely upon him, whom only he could trust, to hear the complaint about the lands at the forks of the Delaware. The Moravian missionary Zeisberger appears to have acted as amanuensis and messenger, and also to have shown the letter to Hamilton, who in April, on the occasion of a visit from Teedyuscung, asked him for an explanation. Teedyuscung seemed contrite, although reminding Hamilton of his refusal to hear the matter, and asked him to tell Johnson not to come, although previously invited by Beaver and Shingass. Hamilton declined to do so, offered a gratuity to the Indians if Teedyuscung would say publicly what he had told Isaac Stille about his own ignorance of the whole matter and his young men being stirred up by the French. Teedyuscung said that he

would, and that £400 would content the Indians for the lands in question. Hamilton warned him that he would not feel obliged to give a farthing if Sir William Johnson found that the Proprietaries had not cheated the Delawares.

Sir William Johnson came to Easton, examined the papers and writings produced by the Proprietaries' commissioners, and



Isaac Barré

After whom Wilkes-Barré was named; born 1726; died 1802. Photographed especially for this work from an engraving in possession Wyoming Historical and Geological Society

convinced Teedyuscung of his error, the latter desiring that the matter be buried under ground, and offering to have the Indians execute a release; all of which we learn from Hamilton's speech at the treaty of Lancaster following, for there are no minutes of the Council between June 12 and August 6.

In August at Lancaster the Lieutenant-Governor with councillors and commissioners appointed by the Assembly, and Israel Pemberton and other private citizens, met Beaver and other

chiefs and warriors of the Ohio Delawares, Tuscaroras, Shawanees, Kickapos, Wiwachtanies, and Twightees, who came to confirm the friendship established with them by Sir William Johnson in the fall; and there gathered also at the conference a great number of men, women, and children from the Six Nations and also Nanticokes, Conoys, and Saponies and Teedyuscung and one hundred and seventy-five of his Delawares. Various captives were delivered. Some tribes declared that they had none at home. The Shawanee messengers promised that the prisoners held by that tribe should be brought to Pittsburg. Hamilton asked Beaver if he was satisfied with the decision about the lands. Beaver, after consulting with his counsellors, replied that he knew nothing of the Delawares' claim, neither he nor his people had any, but he supposed that there might be some spots unpaid for; he was pleased if Hamilton and Teedyuscung were. Then Teedyuscung called the Allegheny Indians to witness that he was willing to sign a release. Hamilton told him that he had acted on the occasion like an honest man, and that the Proprietaries three years before had directed that upon justice being done to their character a present should be made as a mark of their affection for their old friends, the Delawares. Thomas King, the Oneida, who brought back fourteen prisoners, had heard that there was a promise by Governors Denny and Bernard to let the returned captives have their choice whether to stay with the whites or go where they pleased, and said that the Indians parted with the captives with reluctance, and some were loath to be brought back to the country of their people, because those whom he had been bringing, except the fourteen, were taken out of his hands when he reached the forks, and were made servants of, it was believed. He had brought a girl to Easton whom he had taken as his wife, and she ran back to his home, and it was hard to part with her. He asked that the whites covet no more land, and do not settle beyond Nixhisaqua, or Mahanoy; also that the soldiers be removed from the fort at Shamokin, but the store

remain and be kept by honest men. He wanted four stores, one at Shamokin, one to be kept by John Harris at his house, one to be kept by George Croghan with a blacksmith and gunsmith at Bedford, and one to be kept by Daniel Cresap on the Potomac, these points being in the path by which the Six Nations would go to war with the Cherokees. Hamilton explained that the matter of Croghan's store was within the jurisdiction of Sir William Johnson, and induced the Six Nations to give up the populated way by Harris's and Cresap's as a war path and to use the old one at the foot of the Alleghanies. Considerable presents closed the conferences.

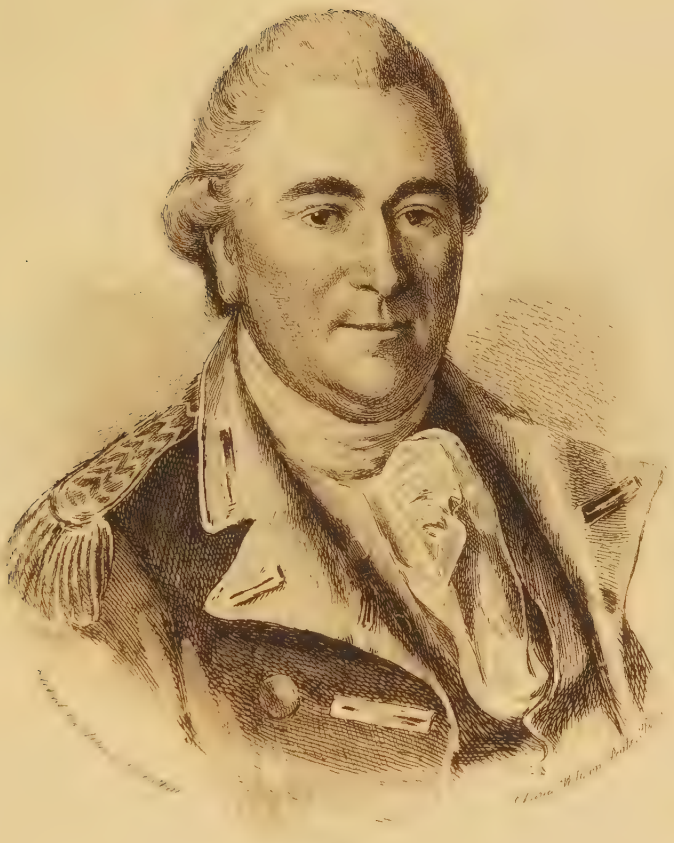
Pursuant to votes of the Susquehanna Company to allow one hundred members to settle in a township on the east bank of the Susquehanna and one hundred more opposite, a large number of Connecticut people had advanced to the neighborhood of Wyoming when a body of the Six Nations passed that way returning from the treaty. The latter spoke very roughly, and forbade any settlement by virtue of the purchase alleged by the others, and obliged them to leave. When Teedyuscung went home after the treaty, he found one hundred and fifty New Englanders on their way to build houses at Lechawanock, about seven miles from Wyoming. On his threat to take them to the Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania, they said they would go back and consult their own Governor, and if the Indians who had sold the lands would return the money they could have the lands back. Other parties following also retired; but the Company sent out others the next spring. The King of England, however, ordered that neither the Company nor the Penns make any entry on the lands until the whole matter be examined.

On April 16, 1763, Teedyuscung, going to bed drunk, perished in the destruction of his house, believed to have been set on fire by Indian enemies.

When as a result of the surrender of Canada and the Ohio country, the Indians of those regions found in their midst British

soldiers and Scotch-Irish huntsmen, against whom the French had long inculcated a hatred, and who on close acquaintance probably exhibited no ingratiating qualities, and while America was awaiting the official proclamation of peace between France, Spain, and Great Britain, the treaty having been signed at Paris on February 10, 1763, there broke out the conspiracy which bears the name of Pontiac's, of nearly the whole Algonquin race, to overwhelm every English garrison within reach, and lay waste the frontier settlements, and drive the colonies of the rising power back at least to tidewater, if not into the sea. The Six Nations, except the Senecas, remained well affected towards the English.

The forts within the present limits of Pennsylvania were at this time garrisoned mainly by detachments of the Royal American regiment. Around Forts Pitt, Venango, Le Boeuf, and Presque Isle arson and murder began and multiplied. Far and wide terror spread through that region and across the Alleghanies as here and there roving bands took the lives or destroyed the homes of the pioneers in the new possessions; but at Fort Bedford, when several persons in the vicinity had been killed, the backwoodsmen organized, and several formed a mounted company disguised as Indians, and, when some savages appeared uttering a war whoop, put them to rout. Steps were now taken to reinforce the garrison at Fort Augusta with one hundred recruits; and the British General, who had been actually considering the expedient of introducing small-pox among the Indians by means of infected blankets, decided to dispatch expeditions composed of regular troops to the enemy's country. Lieutenant-Colonel Bouquet, in command of the first battalion of the Royal American regiment, with his headquarters at Philadelphia, received two companies of the 42d, or Highlanders, and 77th regiments, and started for Fort Pitt. When he reached Carlisle at the end of June, he found the town crowded with refugees who had narrowly escaped the tomahawk, and he soon heard of the loss of the



posts at Presque Isle, Le Boeuf, and Venango; while scouting parties found houses and stacked wheat burning in the various valleys near by. Securing wagons and provisions, but no volunteers, Bouquet after a delay of eighteen days set out with about five hundred men, about sixty of whom were in wagons, being too feeble to march. Thirty picked Highlanders were sent across

Interior of Fort Brown, Dauphin County, as it appears to-day

Engraved especially for this work from photograph in possession of Historical Society of Dauphin County, Pennsylvania

the mountains as fast as possible, travelling only by night to Fort Bedford and thence to Fort Ligonier, which they found besieged, but entered as a welcome reinforcement amid a volley from the Indians. The main body moved up the Cumberland Valley by way of Shippensburg to Fort Loudoun on Cove Mountain, and thence to Fort Littleton, and reached Fort Bedford on the 25th of July. Here thirty backwoodsmen were added to the small army, and the invalids were left as a garrison. The march was continued across the Alleghanies to Fort Ligonier, now no longer

invested by the enemy, while through the last four days of July four hundred Delaware Indians were assaulting Fort Pitt, wounding the commander and nine others. Leaving the oxen and wagons at Fort Ligonier on August 4th, Bouquet and his followers were within half a mile of Bushy Run at one o'clock in the afternoon of the 5th, when they were suddenly attacked. At first charging forward, then obliged to fall back and form a circle around their pack horses, with the flour bags a shelter for the wounded, for seven hours they were furiously assailed, losing about sixty men and officers. . That night, forced to remain where they were, they found themselves without water. At daybreak, tormented by thirst, they were again furiously assailed. Until ten o'clock they were being decimated by enemies upon whom they were making no impression, when by the feigned retreat of two companies and the thinning of the line which closed after them the Indians were led to attempt to break it, and so exposed their flanks. The Light Infantry and Grenadiers wheeled around upon them, killing a great number, including Keelyuscung, a Delaware chief, and finally putting the others to flight. With a loss of eight officers and one hundred and fifteen men and the escape of most of the horses, the British moved down in the afternoon and made their camp at the Run. Here they were again attacked, but more easily repulsed the enemy. The next day the victors resumed their journey to Fort Pitt, which they reached on the 10th, and which was thus effectually garrisoned and provisioned. The loss of Presque Isle rendered impossible Bouquet's further advance to Lake Erie, as had been part of General Amherst's plan of campaign. Later in the summer the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania, under the protection of 700 Provincial recruits, and with their assistance, gathered their harvests.

Against some remarks of General Amherst as to "the infatuation of the people" of Pennsylvania, "who," he said, "tamely look on while their brethren are butchered by the savages," the Assembly having previously authorized the raising of 800 troops,

and voted 24,000*l.* to keep the same number until December 1, declared that it was both unjust and impracticable for the Province to defend a frontier of nearly three hundred miles, which covered to a great extent that of New Jersey and Maryland, without assistance from other provinces. In September and October outrages were committed as far east as the neighborhoods of Reading and Bethlehem, and it was believed that not only Fort Pitt but even Fort Augusta were destined for attack. Colonel John Armstrong led three hundred men of Cumberland county from the Juniata river against Great Island on the West Branch of the Susquehanna, where certain of the marauders had their headquarters. On arrival they found the place evacuated, horses, cattle, and other spoil gathered in the forays being left behind. With the main body of his men, Armstrong proceeded to another village thirty miles away, and there found that the late occupants had left in haste while eating a meal. So the expedition resulted in destroying the houses and cornfields at these bases of supplies. Major Asher Clayton led a party from Harris's Ferry to remove the Connecticut settlers from Wyoming, and destroy their provisions, which were likely to be seized by the red men. When the party arrived at Wyoming, it found that the savages had been there before them, and had burnt the town, and killed more than twenty persons with horrible torture.

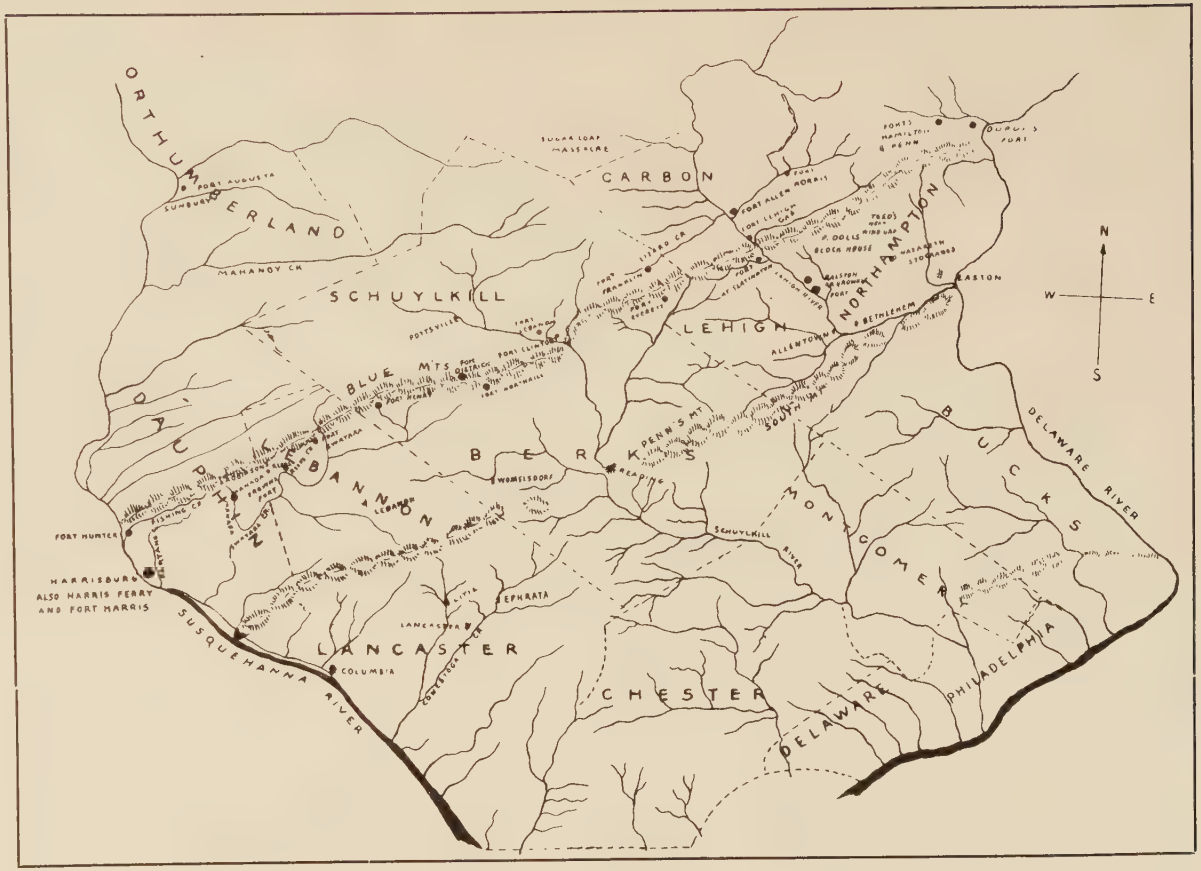
A number of those Indians who had been converted by the Moravian missionaries around Bethlehem were murdered as they were found asleep in a barn by a party of Rangers, and the surprise and slaughter in turn of the latter increased the suspicion of the frontiersmen not Moravians or Quakers against the entire body of Christian red men, who professed a desire to live at peace and friendship with the English. The Provincial Commissioners, indeed, reported their belief that those at Nain and Wichetunk (in what is now Polk township, Monroe county) were secretly supplied by the Moravian brethren with arms and ammunition, which, in free intercourse with the hostile savages, were

traded off to the latter. About the 10th of October a number of armed men marched towards Wichetunk, but, waiting to surprise it by night, were frustrated by a violent storm, which wet their powder, just before nightfall. The missionary, Rev. Bernhard Adam Grube, then led the red men to Nazareth. The Governor of Pennsylvania suggesting that to watch their behavior it would be better to disarm them and bring them to the interior parts of the province, the Assembly, actuated more by a desire to save them, agreed to the proposal.

On October 29, 1763, John Penn, who had formerly spent some time in Pennsylvania, and had sat in the Governor's Council, arrived in the Delaware with a commission as Lieutenant-Governor. Hamilton resumed a seat in the Council. John Penn received the refugees from Nain and Wichetunk, their arrival in the Northern Liberties of Philadelphia exciting the lower classes nearly to a riot, and the soldiers in the barracks there refusing to allow the use of any part of the barracks as the sheltering place, so that a different arrangement had to be made. For five hours these Indians were in great peril, but escorted by Quakers, they were finally taken to Province Island.

A royal proclamation of October 10, 1763, published in Philadelphia on December 8, prohibited until further order the colonial governors except of Quebec and Florida from granting warrants of survey or patents for any lands beyond the heads or sources of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic, or any lands not purchased from or ceded by the Indians, and ordered all persons who had settled on any such land to remove therefrom forthwith. It furthermore prohibited any private purchase of land from the Indians, and provided that all who wished to trade with them should take out a license and give security.

General Gage, succeeding Amherst as commander-in-chief of the forces in America, renewed on December 12 Amherst's requisition of November 5 for 1,000 men besides officers to be raised by Pennsylvania before March 1.



Frontier forts between the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers

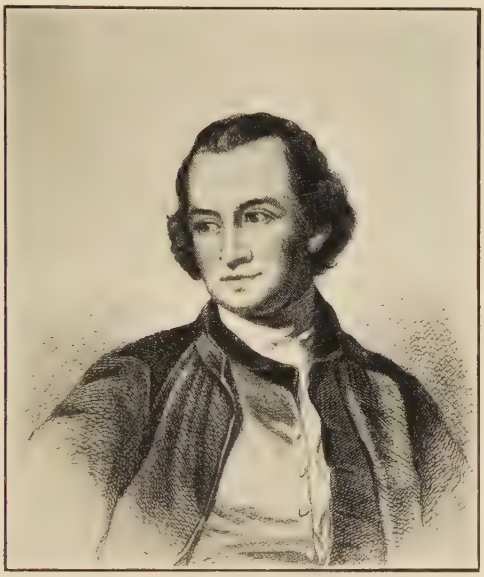
Erected during the eighteenth century. From a drawing made especially for this work

The conduct of the last Assembly and of the present one, in which there were twenty-two Quaker members, had failed to satisfy not only the royal and Proprietary officers, but also the Presbyterians, ever ready to take up arms, and particularly the Scotch-Irish on the frontier, who saw large sums of money lavished in presents to Indians, while they themselves lay destitute from the ravages of an Indian war. And as every now and then some of their kinsmen or neighbors fell by the tomahawk, they became exasperated, coupling their vengeance against the guilty savages with jealousy of the Assembly's partiality, and also suspicion against those Indians who were treated as friends. A cry like the old Covenanters' came from their descendants in Pennsylvania: loud exhortations were heard on the frontier to carry out against the heathen red men the decrees of Heaven against the Canaanites. The more desperate of the young men about Paxton banded together, and on December 14 destroyed the peaceable Indian village at Conestoga, and killed and scalped all whom they found at home except one small boy. The remainder of the little tribe, fourteen in number, were conducted by Robert Beatty and John Miller, the Proprietaries' Indian agents at the manor, who did so at the risk of their lives, to Lancaster, and placed in the jail or work-house for safety. The Governor issued a proclamation calling for diligence by the authorities to bring the perpetrators of the crime to punishment, and warning all persons not to molest the Bethlehem and Nazareth Indians now on Province Island or elsewhere in the neighborhood of the city of Philadelphia: but a few days later about one hundred horsemen appeared at Lancaster, broke into the work-house, and against the expostulations of the sheriff and coroner, massacred the Conestogas; then, rapidly leaving the town, threatened to go in greater force to Province Island. The Governor issued a second proclamation, offering a reward of 200*l.* for the apprehension and conviction of any three of the ringleaders, and promising the influence of the government for the pardon of any accomplices not immediately concerned in

the shedding of blood who would make discovery, apprehend, and prosecute to conviction any of the ringleaders. The Assembly having been summoned during a recess to meet the new Governor to give answer to General Gage's request for 1,000 men, a resolution to grant such a force was followed by a vote of credit for the additional force necessary "to frustrate the further wicked designs of those lawless rioters." Sir William Johnson having been informed of both massacres, so that he might acquaint the Six Nations with the actual facts, and remove any bad impressions as to the good faith of Pennsylvania in dealing with friendly Indians, it being very important that the Six Nations should not be alienated from British interests, Governor Penn seized the opportunity afforded by the presence in the city of a detachment of Highlanders marching to New York to accede to the wish of the Indians on Province Island to be returned to their families, and packed them off, to make a journey through New Jersey and New York to Johnson's on the Mohawk, whence they could easily be sent to their kindred at the headwaters of the Susquehanna. The mob of the city was to be feared at the coming of an organized force of rebels; the Presbyterians even of substance would have hailed the overthrow of both Proprietary and Quaker; in the minds of the Governor's councillors the Provincial troops could not be depended upon to act against their neighbors. Accordingly regular soldiers were a necessity; and application for them was made to General Gage, who promised three companies of the Royal American regiment then on their way from Albany, and also put the troops at Carlisle under the Governor of Pennsylvania's orders. Franklin came forward with a pamphlet describing the proceedings of the rioters, so as to turn public opinion against them, and subsequently at the Governor's request formed an association of citizens for the defence of public authority. When the Governor of New York heard that 140 or 150 Indians were to be sent through his territory, he had them stopped at Perth Amboy, and a part of the Royal American regiment brought

them back to Philadelphia, where they were lodged in the barracks in the Northern Liberties. This roused the Scotch-Irish, who gathered in numbers designed to overwhelm the force which might protect the unfortunates. A Quaker merchant said to Robert Fulton of Lancaster, "I hear you intend to kill the Quakers." Fulton answered, "No, God forbid, but they or any others who oppose us will be killed." On January 29 the Governor sent an express to Carlisle ordering all the King's troops there to Lancaster, and on February 3 the Assembly passed an act for preventing tumults and riotous assemblies. Next day came news that the frontiersmen were on the march, and had fixed on the following morning for the destruction of the Indians. At once measures were taken. The British officer at the barracks was told to defend his charges to the utmost. The inhabitants of the city were notified to meet the Governor at the State House that afternoon, to take arms immediately in support of the laws. One hundred and fifty gentlemen were to assist the soldiers in guarding the barracks that night, and the inhabitants were upon the ringing of bells to repair to the barracks, or, if the town were attacked, to meet at the Court House. The next day cannon were planted around the barracks, but the insurgent horde did not arrive. It sent to the Governor a declaration too long to be here printed that the "injured frontier inhabitants" had seen the Indians, some of whom had been proved to be murderers, and who by knowledge of the state of the frontier were capable of doing much mischief, cherished and caressed as dear friends; at the last Indian treaty at Lancaster the blood of murdered brethren had been tamely covered, and captured friends had been abandoned to slavery; last summer not a man had been granted to escort provisions, etc., to relieve Fort Pitt, although the frontier had depended under God upon the success of the campaign; the public was required to support savages pretending friendship but guilty of murder, with others known to have been in battle against Colonel Bouquet, while the King's subjects flying from their homes

were left to private charity, "wherein they who are most profuse towards savages have carefully avoided having any part;" no thanks had been given by the legislature to the volunteers, who, equipped at their own expense, had gone up the Susquehanna in



John Morgan

Physician; born 1735; died 1789; studied medicine in Europe and in 1765 became professor of medicine in College of Philadelphia. Photographed especially for this work from an engraving in possession of Mrs. William Darlington

September, and defeated the enemy, and no notice was taken of their wounded, but a doctor had been sent to cure an Indian, a confessed enemy, when he got a cut in his head in a quarrel with his cousin; when his Majesty's "cloaked enemies had been struck by a distressed, bereft, injured frontier" a reward had been offered for apprehending the perpetrators, and their conduct painted

in the most atrocious colors, while the "horrid ravages, cruel murders, and shocking barbarities" committed by Indians had been excused as their method of making war; nor could there be surprise at the conduct of the Indians when, as those of Wyalusing had told Conrad Weiser, Israel Pemberton, the old leader of the faction which had so long enslaved Pennsylvania to the Indians, with others of the Friends, had told them that the Proprietaries had cheated them in the matter of land and the traders had defrauded them in the price of goods—this was the unhappy situation "under the villainy, infatuation, and influence of a certain faction that have got the political reins in their hands;" and could it be thought strange that the adding of the burden of supporting in the very heart of the province one or two hundred Indians, to the great disquietude of the majority of the inhabitants, had awakened the resentment of "a people grossly abused, unrighteously burdened, and made dupes and slaves to Indians"? and the design was to rescue a laboring land from a weight so oppressive, unreasonable, and unjust. The declaration ends: "It is this we are resolved to prosecute, though it is with great reluctance we are obliged to adopt a measure not so agreeable as could be desired and to which extremity alone compels—God save the King." At two o'clock Monday morning, February 6, the people were called from their beds by the ringing of the bells. Governor Penn repaired to Franklin's house, which he made his headquarters; and about 600 persons, among them a number of Quakers, assembled in arms. The middle ferry (Market Street) and upper ferry (now Spring Garden Street bridge) were secured: but the advance guard of the rebels, about two hundred strong, crossed the Schuylkill at Swedes' Ford, and proceeded to Germantown, where, having heard of the preparations to receive them, they rested. Rain fell in the city, and the armed citizens sought cover, three companies filling the market house, and a company, embracing Quaker youth, taking the Monthly Meeting room at the Friends meeting-house, although it was the day appointed for

Youth's Meeting. The Governor sent Franklin and three others to hold a parley with the insurgents, and ask the reasons for their conduct. The interview resulted in saving the public authority without bloodshed. Those who had taken up arms against it were induced to say that they would suspend hostilities until an answer should be made to the statement of grievances, and return to their homes, while Matthew Smith and James Gibson should make a formal petition to the Governor and Assembly on behalf of the people of the frontier. The defenders of the city were thanked and disbanded, although called out the next day by the coming into town of some stragglers, who, however, committed no disorder, and soon retreated after their companions. A second attempt was made by the Governor to get rid of the Indians, but General Gage would not approve of their being sent back to the Indian region, pointing out that they were in fact hostages for the good behavior of their kindred.

The memorial of Smith and Gibson, which was presented while their friends were terrifying the eastern counties on the journey home, or receiving congratulation and admiration on their arrival, called attention to the inequality of representation in the Assembly; the eastern or original counties of Philadelphia (including the city), Chester, and Bucks electing twenty-six of the members, the other counties only ten, *i. e.*, four from Lancaster, two from Cumberland, two from York, one from Berks, and one from Northampton. Furthermore, protest was made against a proposed act of Assembly, which only such inequality rendered possible, that those charged with the killing of any Indian in Lancaster county should be tried in Philadelphia, Chester, or Bucks. To a restatement of the points in the declaration was added a final complaint that the men at Fort Augusta, doubtless under direction from those outside, had given no assistance to save the crops from ravage, not even patrolling the frontiers.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE ATTEMPT TO CHANGE THE GOVERNMENT

WE find a letter of Franklin as early as June 10, 1758, telling the Speaker and committee on correspondence of the Assembly that Robert Charles had at his request drawn up a state of the case to obtain the opinion of lawyers how far the people's privileges then enjoyed would be affected in case of a change of government by Pennsylvania's coming directly under the Crown, and that this had been referred to the agents' counsel, whose opinion Franklin enclosed. The counsel, knowing the views, connections, and character of the members of the Board of Trade, gave him some hints on a separate sheet, of which he also sent a copy, one suggestion being that before pushing the matter in Parliament something be done to remove the prejudice of the British public against the people of the province. Accordingly the Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania was written, probably by his son William and his friend James Ralph. When Franklin in November, 1762, returned to Philadelphia from London, John Dickinson had just been elected to the Assembly. He was a member of the bar who had studied at the Temple, a native of Talbot county, Maryland, son of Justice Samuel Dickinson of Kent county, Delaware, and nephew of Dr. Thomas Cadwalader of the Governor's Council. While the "Paxton boys" were retiring to their homes the Assembly was proceeding to frame a bill for raising the money for the one thousand soldiers which it had promised. By

the agreement of 1760 it was allowed to tax the Proprietaries' located lands upon certain conditions, among others that "the located uncultivated lands of the Proprietaries shall not be assessed higher than the lowest rate at which any located uncultivated lands belonging to the inhabitants shall be assessed." The Assembly now presented a bill using these words, but with the explanatory clause, "under the same circumstances of situation, kind, and quality." Penn asked that the bill use the words of the agreement. The Assembly said that there was an ambiguity in them; they had stated their construction of them, and would the Governor suggest a clause embodying his? Penn replied that the words were the plainest that could be used. The Assembly asked him if he understood that when the worst lands of the inhabitants were rated at so much, the best lands of the Proprietaries should be rated at no more. Penn insisted that there was but one meaning to the words, the Assembly was bound by them, and he would be careless of his duty in passing any bill that did not conform to them. The Assembly declaimed against such injustice, and the populace felt wronged, but, however unequal such an arrangement may have been, there is little doubt that it was intended by the Crown, and its reason may be sought in the Proprietaries' dread of unfair discrimination against them by the assessors, in whose appointment they had no voice. Such a provision having been made for their protection, or even granted to them as a privilege, John Penn, their agent, surely would not have been justified in giving away anything so valuable. He remained firm.

On March 24, 1764, the House adopted twenty-six resolutions drawn up by Joseph Galloway complaining of the conduct of the Proprietaries and the dangers to the Crown as well as to the liberties of the people of the continuance of the government in the hands of holders of such growing estates, and then the House voted "to adjourn in order to consult the people whether an humble address should be drawn up and transmitted to his Maj-

esty praying that he would be graciously pleased to take the people of this province under his immediate protection and government." A message was sent to the Lieutenant-Governor telling him that the bill lay ready for his signature, and for present safety the province would depend upon the King's troops with the blessing of God; and the House adjourned to May 14.

During the recess 3,500 persons signed petitions to George III in favor of the change, the signers of one of the petitions being all of them Friends. After the Assembly reconvened and had these papers laid before it for transmission, Galloway, Franklin, and eight others, appointed for the purpose at the morning session on the 23d of May, reported that afternoon a draft of a similar petition from the House. This was debated three days, the Assembly sitting with closed doors. On the second day Norris the Speaker requested that, his sentiments being adverse to the intentions of the majority, as his seat in the chair prevented him from entering into the debate, therefore if in consequence of their order his duty should oblige him to sign the petition as Speaker, he might be permitted to offer his sentiments on the subject before he signed, and that they might be entered on the minutes. This request was granted. Dickinson in a speech which he afterwards published, pleaded with his fellow members and fellow opponents of Proprietary injustice, not to let their resentment produce effects more fatal than the injuries of which they complained. If the change of government could take place with all the colonial privileges preserved, let it do so instantly, but "if they must be consumed in the blaze of royal authority, we shall pay too great a price for our approach to the throne." He thought—as he afterwards did when the declaration of American independence was proposed—that the proper time had not arrived. He pointed out that the assemblymen were voting to put themselves under the King, when they were laboring under royal displeasure for their conduct in the late war: and would not the indignation of the Court rise beyond all bounds, when they found

this application for a change proceeded from the Governor's adherence to stipulations approved by the late and present King? The time might come when the weight of government would be too heavy for the shoulders of a subject; at least too heavy for those of a woman or an infant; and when the point should be agitated either on a proposal from the Crown or the Proprietaries themselves, the province could plead the cause of her privileges with greater freedom and more probability of success than at present. Now they were to request his Majesty to change the government, and yet insist on the preservation of their privileges. His Majesty would not accept the government clogged in that way; and then would they ask it back? or let it go on such conditions as he would be pleased to impose? It was the desire of the Ministry to vest the government advantageously in the Crown: let the Assembly petition for a change, and Parliament would pass an act delivering the colony at once from the Proprietors and the privileges claimed under them. "Power is like the ocean: not easily admitting limits to be fixed to it. . . . Let not us then, in expectation of smooth seas and an undisturbed course, too rashly venture our little vessel that hath safely sailed round our well-known shores upon the midst of the untried deep, without being first fully convinced that her make is strong enough to bear the weather she may meet with, and that she is well provided for so long and so dangerous a voyage."

How much of Galloway's reply as printed was actually spoken at the time, we cannot say. Dickinson said that the speech was never delivered, and Galloway acknowledged that it was somewhat re-written. To Dickinson's claim that the project was ill-timed, when the Colony was so much under displeasure at Court, he said that he had not "the vanity to hope that if we cannot now succeed in removing the prejudices occasioned by Proprietary Misrepresentations we shall ever see the Day while the Powers of Government are united with immense property that Proprietary Influence or Ministerial Prejudice against us will cease. But I

must fear a little time will shew us in the ridiculous Light that Horace shews his Clown 'who meeting a River in his Road sat down on the Bank to wait till the Stream should pass him:

> 'Rusticus exspectat dum defluat amnis: at ille
> 'Labitur; et labetur in omne volubilis ævum.'"

The petition was adopted by "a great majority," and ordered to be transcribed. On reassembling the next morning, the House received a letter from Norris resigning the speakership. The long sitting and the excitement had been too much for his weakened constitution, and, being too unwell to attend, he availed himself of the excuse to be relieved of the unpleasant duty of signing the paper. Benjamin Franklin was chosen his successor, the petition was finally adopted, and he signed it. Hoping in due time to be relieved of Proprietary rule, and fearing the consequences of further delaying the raising of revenue, the Assembly on May 29 finally under protest struck out the clauses in the supply bill to which the Governor had objected, and the bill was passed. Later on the Proprietaries in England sent word waiving their advantage, and requesting the assessors, notwithstanding the phraseology of the act, to tax their estates at the lowest rate at which they should assess the inhabitants' lands "under the same circumstances of situation, kind, and quality."

During the winter of such excitement in Pennsylvania the British Ministry were determining upon measures to which they were almost driven by the want of military system among the colonies and the leaving to the Assemblies respectively whether and when and how much they would vote for expeditions for their own or the common protection. A union of delegates making an apportionment which their constituents would be morally bound to carry out not having been established, Grenville thought he saw in the extension of the stamp law to America the easiest means of securing its contribution to the expenses of the Empire. Apparently the Chief Justice of Pennsylvania delayed the meas-

ure. A letter from London to the Pennsylvania Gazette, dated March 24, 1764, says: "The 15th Resolution relating to the Stamp Duty, will certainly pass next Session, unless the Americans offer a more certain duty. Had not William Allen, Esq. been here and indefatigable in opposing it, and happily having made Acquaintance with the first Personages in the Kingdom and the greatest part of the House of Commons, it would inevitably have passed this session."

The last document signed by Franklin as Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly was a

Family Flax Hackels

Used by early Pennsylvania Germans. Photographed especially for this work by J. F. Sachse

message to Richard Jackson, "Patron and standing counsel for the province," that the stamp duties and other taxes mentioned in the resolutions of the House of Commons as proposed to be laid on the colonies would deprive the people of the province of their most essential rights as British subjects and of the right granted to them by the charter of King Charles II, wherein the assessing of their own taxes, and freedom

from any impositions but those made by their own representatives was fully granted, and as the Ministry, according to information received, were desirous of consulting the ease, interest, and good will of the Colonies, a remonstrance might prevail upon Parliament to lay aside their intention; furthermore a plan to oblige the colonies to grant the necessary aids to the Crown in time of danger had been under consideration by the Assembly and would be transmitted, and there should be moreover a repeal or amendment of the Act of Parliament for regulating the sugar trade, particularly as to its prohibition of the export of lumber to Ireland and other parts of Europe. Grenville had called together the agents of the colonies, and stated his intention to pass a stamp law at the ensuing session, unless they could suggest a duty equally productive after communicating with the Assemblies which they represented.

The one thousand men furnished by Pennsylvania, reduced by the desertion of two hundred before leaving Carlisle, and of others at Fort Bedford, made with a very few regulars and about two hundred Virginians the army of Bouquet, which advanced from Fort Pitt in October, 1764, marched ninety-six miles to the Muskingum, mostly through a wilderness which the savages had deemed their sure defense, and, appearing in such force in the heart of the enemy's country, compelled the liberation of all the white people then in captivity. So thoroughly is Pennsylvania entitled to the credit of this expedition, which not only restored so many of her men, women, and children to their families, but had the chief part in securing peace to adjoining colonies, that, whereas the legislatures of Maryland and Virginia contributed not a penny to the expense, and left Bouquet personally liable for the pay of the volunteers from those provinces, the Pennsylvania Assembly in due time came to his relief, and paid for this also.

After the publication of Dickinson's and Galloway's speeches upon the change of government, the former, who went so far as to challenge the latter to a duel, which was declined, printed a

fierce invective against Galloway, charging him with extortion and various dishonorable practices. At the October election the opponents of the change of government had the support of the Presbyterians, to whom the important question was defending the province and particularly their brethren on the frontiers, and mattered comparatively little whether the Proprietaries or the richer inhabitants paid for it, and who feared that under the Crown the Church of England might become established. Dickinson was re-elected to the Assembly, as was Norris against his expressed wish. Galloway and Franklin were defeated, the latter by 25 majority out of 4,000 votes; and only two out of the ten representatives from Philadelphia city and county were in favor of the change of government. Norris was accordingly again chosen Speaker. But the majority of the Bucks and Chester delegation remained against Proprietary authority, and the Assembly not only refused to recall the petition to the King, the vote standing 10 to 22, but even to delay its presentation, as asked by Norris, this vote standing 12 to 20, and, after Norris had again and finally resigned the speakership, and Joseph Fox had succeeded him, furthermore appointed Franklin as an additional agent in London, and directed him to go with all dispatch, and his expenses to be paid. In all these votes, George Taylor from Northampton county, afterwards a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was with the minority, and John Morton joined it as to the last proposition. The majority which wished to divest the Founder's descendants of their authority were the strict followers of the Founder's religion. Nathaniel Pennock, William Rodman, Charles Humphreys, and Isaac Pearson were among them. Penn granted a church charter to the Lutherans with the design of drawing that vote away from the Quakers, but subsequently wrote: "There is no resisting the intrigues of the Yearly Meeting." Franklin sailed for England on November 8, 1764, being escorted by three hundred admirers to Chester, where he embarked. He took with him a copy of a resolution which the

Assembly upon hearing of Grenville's proposal of a stamp act or some other means of revenue had passed, acknowledging it a duty to grant aid to the Crown according to ability whenever required in the usual constitutional manner.

George Croghan, the deputy agent for Indian affairs, went to Fort Pitt in February, 1765, and spent some months in negotiating with the Delawares, Shawanees, Senecas, and Sandusky Indians to induce them to perform their engagements with Bouquet by delivering all the English and negroes remaining in their villages, and by sending deputies to Sir William Johnson to ratify a lasting peace. At one of the pow-wows, Kyashuta, a Seneca chief, asked for a restoration of the sale of powder, lead, and rum, which had been prohibited a year or two before the recent troubles. He said: "You make rum, and have taught us to drink it: you are fond of it yourselves; therefore don't deprive us of it." Croghan obtained the release of many captives, and brought about the meeting with Johnson, whereby on May 8, a definite treaty of peace was made with the Delawares. Croghan's subsequent journey to the Illinois country, on which he was captured and narrowly escaped being burnt alive, resulted in the coming of Pontiac himself, who had found his schemes hopeless, to Johnson on July 23, 1766.

On setting out for Fort Pitt, Croghan had given a pass for Baynton and Wharton's goods to be brought with the remainder of his presents for the Indians by Captain Callender; but the people of Cumberland county took the law into their own hands to prevent warlike stores being supplied to savages recently in arms. The goods were packed on eighty-one horses. On March 6, a large company started from the house of William Smith, one of the county justices, and came up with this caravan at Sideling Hill, about 17 miles beyond Fort Loudoun, and burned or pillaged sixty-three of the horse loads. A sergeant and twelve men of the Highlanders, sent from the fort, went through the neighborhood, saved the rest of the goods, and captured several persons

and five rifles and four smooth guns. Justice Smith's relative, James Smith, formerly a lieutenant in the Provincial troops, appeared in a few days with a mob, and declared that they would die to a man rather than let the prisoners be put into Carlisle jail. Horses laden with liquors, etc., for the troops at Fort Pitt, under a pass from the commander there, arriving at Fort Loudoun about the 1st of May, had been relieved of their burden within the latter fort, and taken by their drivers out to pasture, when thirty men with their faces blackened came upon them, flogged the drivers, killed five horses, and burned all the saddles. Alarm being given, a sergeant and twelve men started from the fort, and in a battle which ensued one of the inhabitants was wounded. Another time did James Smith bring a mob to the fort, then being accompanied by three justices who demanded to search the goods. Lieutenant Charles Grant of the Highlanders, the commander, explained that the General had committed the goods to his care, but had ordered an inventory to be taken before a justice of the peace; this however could not be done in the presence of a mob. Justice Smith replied that he would not come again for that purpose, as he was not bound to obey the General, and contended that a military officer's pass was not sufficient without a magistrate's pass. Subsequently Justice Smith issued several passes through the neighborhood. The vigilance men threw off the restraints of decent appearance by issuing the following: "Advertisement. These are to give notice to all our Loyal Volunteers, to those that has not yet enlisted, you are to come to our Town and come to our Tavern and fill your Belly's with Liquor and your Mouth with swearing, and you will have your pass, but if not, your Back must be whipt and your mouth be gagged. . . . We will have Grant, the officer of Loudon, whip'd or hanged. . . . The Governor will pardon our Crimes, and the Clergy will give us absolution, and the Country will stand by us; so we may do what we please . . . free toleration for drinking, swearing, sabbath breaking, and any outrage what we have

a mind to, to let those Strangers know their place. . . . We call it Hell's town, in Cumberland county, the 25th May, 1765. Peters Township . . ." The crowning deed was on May 28. Lieutenant Grant, while riding about a mile from the fort, was fired at, and the horse starting, and he being thrown, he was seized by James Smith and others, taken six miles off, kept all night in the woods, and threatened with being carried to the mountains and detained there, and the fort taken by force unless he would give up the arms captured from the rioters. Upon Grant refusing and saying that those who put such threats into execution would be treated as rebels, they replied that they were ready for rebellion, and would take him to Carolina; but after travelling eight miles he was set at liberty on giving a bond for 40*l.* if he should not deliver the arms in five weeks. There is a letter printed among the Pennsylvania archives from James Smith dated June 19: "Sir: The arms that are detained in Loudon, you may keep them, keep them, keep them."

On June 4, 1765, Governor Penn declared trade with the Indians open from June 20 to all inhabitants of the province who should apply for and obtain his license, and requiring all the King's subjects to permit any person with such license to travel to Fort Pitt with his goods, and any person with the pass of the commanding officer of any garrison to transport military stores.

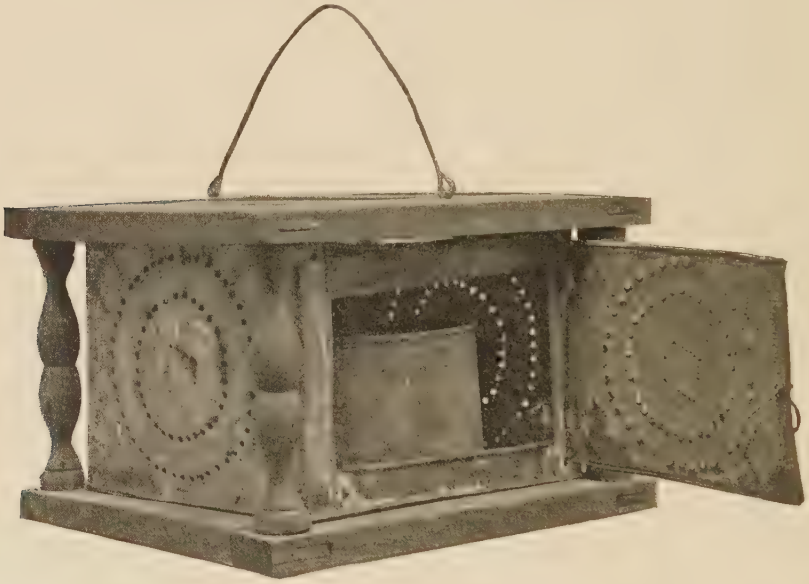
When the Stamp Act was passed, Grenville, to conciliate the Americans, asked their agents to suggest the person to have the sale of the stamps in their respective colonies. Franklin named his friend John Hughes, who in the Assembly had been voting with the opponents of the Proprietaries; and much capital did Franklin's enemies try to make out of this participation in the introduction of the stamps, while Hughes and Galloway tried to lay the blame for the popular outburst upon the Proprietary party in both contrivance and connivance, Hughes writing to London that if the government were taken from the Penns, and a Governor who knew the people appointed, Pennsylvania could

easily be kept in order. The Quakers and the Baptists and such Church of England people as were not controlled by the Proprietaries were, he said, willing to obey the stamp law.

Upon suggestion by the Massachusetts Assembly that the various Houses of Representatives or Burgesses in America send committees to a meeting in New York on the first Tuesday of October, 1765, to consider a united representation to the King and Parliament, the Assembly of Pennsylvania decided unanimously that it ought to remonstrate against the Stamp Act, and appointed as committee the Speaker and Dickinson with George Bryan and John Morton. Nine resolutions on the subject of the "unconstitutional impositions" were unanimously passed.

Hughes was afraid of being mobbed, and on the night of September 16, when there were bonfires on account of the change in the Ministry, he was armed watching for an attack on his house; there were several relatives with Mrs. Franklin at the Doctor's, while eight hundred of their friends were distributed through the streets; but at midnight those whom they feared dispersed after burning a "stamp man" in effigy. Hughes wrote to Governor John Penn and to Dickeson, the master of the ship which brought the stamps, that he had received no commission to take charge of them. The ship then lay at New Castle for fear of injury, but on October 5 she sailed up the river to Philadelphia, accompanied by a man-of-war. All the vessels in the harbor put their flags at half mast, the bells of the State House and Christ Church were muffled and tolled until evening, and two negroes with drums summoned the people to a meeting at the State House, which sent Robert Morris, Charles Thomson, and others to Hughes, who was very ill at home, asking him to resign, or at least to promise not to execute his office. The crowd, Hughes said, was stirred up by the son of Franklin's great enemy, Chief-Justice Allen, and threats were made against Hughes's person and property. On the following Monday he gave assurance that neither he nor his deputies would act until the King's pleasure be known, or the law

be put into execution in the other colonies, or the Governor command him. Those who held the interview with Hughes declared: "We will see who will dare put the act into execution; 'upon the Governor's appointment'—we will take care of that." It was reported that the Governor left the city the day the vessel arrived.



Old Foot Warmer

Used in churches during the 18th century. Photographed especially for this work by J. F. Sachse

On Monday or Tuesday, he had the stamps put upon the man-of-war. Hughes wrote soon after to the Commissioners of the Stamp Office that he would perform his duties if his hands were sufficiently strengthened; but in due time he resigned.

The Speaker, Fox, did not go to New York, and Dickinson was called home by urgent business. At the election in October, 1765, Galloway was returned from Philadelphia county, but James

Pemberton and George Bryan received an equal number of votes, resulting in a second election, at which Pemberton was chosen.

On November 7, 1765, the merchants of Philadelphia assembled at the Court House, adopted non-importation resolutions which were embodied in an agreement soon signed by almost everybody who could be described as a merchant or trader, setting forth that the difficulties they labored under were owing to the restrictions, prohibitions, and ill advised resolutions in recent acts of Parliament. These measures had limited the exportation of some of the produce, increased the expense of many imported articles, and cut off the means of supplying themselves with sufficient specie even to pay the duties imposed. The province was heavily in debt to Great Britain for importations and the Stamp Act would tend to prevent remittances, and so, it was hoped that the people of the province would be frugal in the consumption of all manufactures except those of America or of Ireland coming directly from thence, and that the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain would find it to their interest to befriend them; therefore the subscribers agreed and pledged their honor to direct all goods to be ordered from Great Britain not to be shipped, and to cancel all former orders until the Stamp Act be repealed, the ships already cleared for Great Britain owned by the merchants being allowed to bring back the usual bulky articles, but no dry goods except dye stuffs and utensils necessary for carrying on manufactures, and furthermore to sell no articles sent on commission after January 1. The committee which circulated this agreement for signatures, and was appointed to see to its being carried out, was composed of Thomas Willing, Samuel Mifflin, Thomas Montgomery, Samuel Howell, Samuel Wharton, John Rhea, William Fisher, Joshua Fisher, Peter Chevalier, Benjamin Fuller, and Abel James. The shopkeepers also met and agreed to buy no British goods until the repeal of the act.

On November 16, at 7 o'clock at night, Fort Loudoun was attacked by rioters, who, increasing in numbers, kept firing at it

until the afternoon of the 18th, when William McDowell said that if Lieutenant Grant would let him have the captured arms he would give a receipt to hold them subject to the Governor's orders. As the General had written to have the arms surrendered when the Governor required, and Lieutenant Grant had little ammunition, and did not know when reënforcements would arrive, the arms were given to McDowell, and the receipt taken. James Smith and Samuel Owens then gave bond not to interrupt any person going or coming thereafter. Ensign Herring with thirty soldiers from Fort Bedford arrived two hours later. With this escort the garrison of Fort Loudoun retired to Fort Bedford.

The Assembly on January 14, 1766, addressed the House of Commons in favor of a repeal of the act of 4 George III prohibiting bills of credit thereafter issued from being a legal tender. It was pointed out that without a proper medium of circulating cash, the trade of the colony must return to mere barter, as it had largely been before the paper money was introduced; that the trade to foreign ports, from whence the merchants formerly imported gold and silver, was obstructed by the high duties on the produce of those ports, and, even when such should be reduced, the gold and silver would be shipped to England in discharge of debts due in the Mother Country; that as every debtor's person could be taken for debt, every American would be liable to imprisonment at the pleasure of his creditor; that the future of the importation of British manufactures depended on this liberty of issuing paper money, with the increase or diminution of which and of foreign gold and silver the importations from Great Britain had increased or diminished; in 1760 they were largest, the bills of credit outstanding amounting to 500,000*l.*, now the bills amounted to about 293,000*l.*, and before the year 1773 all now current would be withdrawn from circulation, and it was feared the commerce with the Mother Country would "languish and expire with them." On account of the scarcity of money, the debt on the province, the exhausted state of the funds, and the diffi-

culty of raising any, the Assembly the next day declined to aid the sufferers from the fire at Montreal; and at this time steps were taken to build a new almshouse in Philadelphia. Several merchants formed an association for issuing notes payable to bearer in lieu of money; but a large number of persons remonstrated against this, telling the Assembly that they conceived "the power and right of striking bills of credit as money or otherwise forming a general currency, is and ought to be lodged in the legislature of the province alone, and that no man or companies of men ought to be permitted to act in derogation or diminution of that power."

Governor Penn removed William Smith from the magistracy of Cumberland county, from avenging which upon Baynton and Wharton's remaining goods, his friends were with trouble restrained. Humiliating to General Gage and Governor Penn as were these insults to the King's uniform and the inability to punish them, there was more serious concern in the obstruction of communication for traders with their goods to reach the Illinois country, where the French across the Mississippi were ready to obtain an influence by commerce. While the allegiance of the Indians was thus jeopardized, white men began to creep over the mountains, and encroach upon land not yet sold by the aborigines. So Red Stone settlement was made, at the risk of another Indian war. Gage sent a detachment of Highlanders to this region to compel all whites west of the Alleghanies to return to their own provinces; but those who left went back again with others some months later.

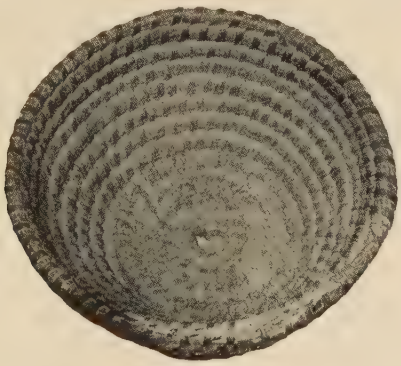
In February of this year, Franklin, still in England as an agent for Pennsylvania, was examined before the House of Commons. He said that there was not enough gold and silver in the colonies to pay the stamp duty for a year. He told of the heavy taxes laid upon Pennsylvania by its own laws, the desolation of the frontier counties, the impracticability of the people providing themselves with stamps, etc., and gave as his opinion that the

people of America would never submit to paying the stamp duty unless compelled by force. He estimated the white population of Pennsylvania to be about 160,000, one-third of them, perhaps, being Quakers, and another third, perhaps, being Germans. The imports of Pennsylvania from Great Britain had been computed at above 500,000*l.*; its exports thither, he did not suppose could exceed 40,000*l.* The remainder was paid by its produce carried to the West Indies, and sold in Britain's islands there or to the French, Spaniards, Danes, and Dutch, or carried to other colonies in North America, as New England, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Carolina, and Georgia, or carried to different parts of Europe, as Spain, Portugal, and Italy; in all which places were received either money, bills of exchange, or commodities which suited for remittance to Britain, which, together with all the profits on the industry of the merchants and mariners arising in those circuitous voyages and the freights made by their ships, did centre finally in Britain to discharge the remainder, and pay for British manufactures continually used in the provinces or sold to foreigners by our traders. In his other answers, Franklin impressed Parliament with the state of feeling in America, the capacity of the Americans to do for themselves, and covertly their fighting strength. Parliament repealed the Stamp Act on February 18, 1766. Conway, one of the Secretaries of State, announcing this to Governor Penn, instructed him to assure the Assembly of the King's "approbation of the wise and prudent, as well as dutiful behavior, which the province of Pennsylvania has held amidst the too prevailing distractions which have so greatly agitated the other colonies."

John Penn on May 31, 1766, married Miss Anne Allen, niece of his predecessor in office, James Hamilton, and daughter of Chief Justice Allen, supposed to be then the richest man in the colony.

Galloway in 1766 became Speaker of the Assembly, in which position he continued nine years.

Three items are worthy of note as showing the manners or morals of the community or different portions of it at this period. In November, 1766, a Jockey Club was started with about eighty members, Richard Penn, John's brother, being president, to "encourage the breeding of good horses and to promote the pleasures of the turf." The members subscribed upwards of 3*l.* each per annum, and in October of each year there were races for the gen-



Family Bread Basket

Used by German settlers. Photographed especially for this work by J. F. Sachse

tlemen's purse of 100 guineas, the sweepstakes of 25 guineas, the ladies' purse (for colts and fillies), and the City plate of 50*l.* contributed by the vintners, innkeepers, etc., benefited by the concourse of strangers. The club lasted until the Revolution. However, upon the remonstrance from a great number of persons of different religious denominations, the Assembly on February 18, 1767, thus addressed the Governor: "That taking into their most serious consideration the pernicious tendency of stage plays and theatrical performances in a young colony laboring under a heavy debt to the Mother Country, besides burthensome taxes to discharge the expence of the last war, they cannot avoid expressing the deepest concern to find a theatre lately erected in the suburbs

of this city, and exhibitions of that kind repeated three times a week. That the remarkable prosperity of this province during its infant state as well as the late flourishing circumstances thereof has been under the favor of Divine Providence chiefly owing to the sobriety, frugality, and industry of the inhabitants. That the House conceive theatrical performances in this infant colony will necessarily introduce idleness, prodigality, and dissipation among the people and more especially among those who are the least able to support the expence; that they ensnare the minds of the young and unwary, and divert others, who may be industriously disposed, from a due regard to those commendable virtues to which the welfare of the colony may be justly attributed, and which are evidently necessary to render them good and useful members of society. That the House, therefore, beg leave earnestly to entreat your Honor to exert your authority to discourage and put an end to those performances, which can answer no good purpose, but manifestly tend to the impoverishment of many and to destroy those principles of frugality, industry, and virtue upon which the future prosperity of the Province essentially depends." This was prepared by a committee consisting of Thomas Livezey, Fox, Pemberton, Rodman, and Ashbridge. The Governor replied that he would consider it, and "act agreeable to his judgment without regard to persons or parties." At this very period, although a law of the province had prohibited lotteries, it was usual to raise money for church building by a lottery specially authorized by an act of Assembly, until the Assembly on January 26, 1769, voted to receive no more petitions for such acts, and recommended to succeeding Assemblies that no future lotteries be authorized except for the uses of the province; and this remaining chance for having one take place was destroyed by the King on March 6 of that year, when, by advice of the Privy Council, although he allowed an act for so raising 5,250*l.* to purchase a public landing and clean the streets of Philadelphia, he ordered the Governor on no pretense whatever to give consent to any future act for raising

sums of money in that way without previously writing to ascertain the royal pleasure concerning it.

In the beginning of 1767 the British Ministry were prepared to allow a repeal of the act of Parliament preventing the paper money of the colonies from being a legal tender. It was planned to make the interest arising from the loans on which the bills were issued a revenue disposable by Parliament, but Franklin assured those who suggested this that no colony would make money on those terms; the Assemblies would never establish such funds as to make themselves unnecessary to government. Pennsylvania standing in a better light before the House of Commons than other colonies, Franklin suggested to the merchants engaged in American trade that a petition which he had drawn might be sent in for the repeal of the act so far as Pennsylvania money was concerned, and this, being passed in a humor to discriminate against the other colonies, could afterwards be used as a precedent when the resentment should subside. The merchants, although willing that those trading to Philadelphia should do as they pleased, were rather averse to this, and the matter was temporarily dropped.

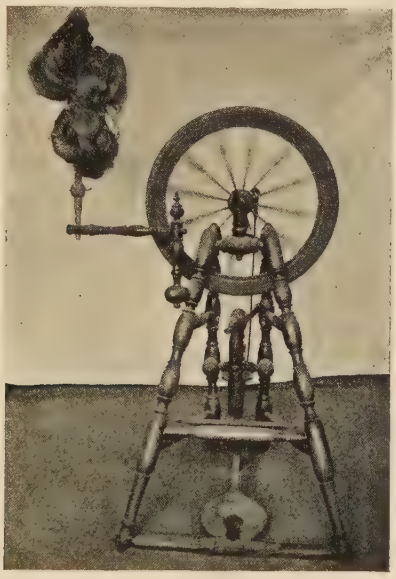
The Assembly of Pennsylvania October 17, 1767, wrote to the agents of the province in London, requesting them to give the earliest intelligence of every new measure or regulation proposed or to be proposed in Parliament whereby the liberties of America in general or of this province might in the least be affected or concerned, and to accede to or oppose it as they should think it beneficial or injurious. The instructions also involved the prosecution of the movement to change the government of Pennsylvania, in case the charter and legal rights and privileges of the Assembly could be preserved; also the application, on the passing away of all danger of the American Assemblies being deprived of the right of issuing bills of credit, for a repeal of the statute forbidding said bills from being a legal tender in Colony debts; also perseverance when judicious in the effort to procure the liberty of importing wine, fruit, and oil directly from Portugal instead of

through England; also an effort to relieve sugar from the British West Indies imported into Pennsylvania and thence sent to England from the duties laid upon French sugars, as had been ordered by a recent statute.

In 1767, surveyors named Mason and Dixon ran the final boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland, a line destined to become very important in the history of the United States as marking the cleavage between free soil and the slave States. All to the south of it came to be known as Dixie.

In 1767, Parliament, acting upon the principle which it had affirmed of its right "to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever," levied duties on paper, glass, etc., payable in America on the importation of those articles. In November appeared the first of the "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British colonies," the authorship of which gave John Dickinson so much of his celebrity. They were republished in every colony, also in London, and afterwards, translated into French, in Paris. Dr. Franklin, Dickinson's former enemy, wrote the preface to the London edition; while the people of Boston in a town meeting voted their thanks. The Farmer's Letter No. I began: "My Dear Countrymen. I am a farmer, settled, after a variety of fortunes, near the banks of the river Delaware, in the province of Pennsylvania. I received a liberal education, and have been engaged in the busy scenes of life; but am now convinced that a man may be as happy without bustle as with it. My farm is small; my servants are few and good; I have a little money at interest; I wish for no more; my employment in my own affairs is easy; and with a contented, grateful mind, undisturbed by worldly hopes or fears, relating to myself, I am completing the number of days allotted to me by Divine goodness." As every man ought to espouse the sacred cause of liberty to the extent of his powers, he offered some thoughts on late transactions, praying that his lines might be read with the same zeal for the happiness of British America with which they had been written. He had

observed that little notice had been taken of the Act of Parliament for suspending the legislation of New York. This was punishment for non-compliance by the Assembly of that province with a former act requiring certain provisions to be made for the troops. To compel the colonies to furnish articles for the troops



Upright Spinning Wheel

Used by the early German settlers. From the Danner collection

was, he proceeded to show, but taxation in another form, and New York was being punished for resisting such taxation. In Letter II, the Farmer took up the Act granting duties on paper, glass, &c., which he deemed a most dangerous innovation upon the old practice of imposing duties merely for the regulation of trade. Parliament had a right to regulate the trade of the colonies: but here it was avowing the design of raising revenues

from America; a right, which, America felt, was inherent in her own representatives. This taxation was attempted by the device of levying duties on certain articles exported to the colonies. The effect of this was clearly pointed out. Great Britain had prohibited certain manufactures in the colonies, and had prohibited the purchase of such manufactured goods except from the Mother Country. "If you once admit that Great Britain may lay duties upon her exportations to us, for the purpose of levying money on us only, she then will have nothing to do but to lay those duties on the articles which she prohibits us to manufacture—and the tragedy of American liberty is finished." It would be taxing the articles wherever used. And it made no difference whether the duties were to be paid in England or America. In Letter III, the Farmer explained that there were other modes of resistance to oppression than any breach of the peace, and deprecated, as Dickinson did ever afterwards, any attempt to make the colonies independent. "If once we are separated from our mother country, what new form of government shall we adopt, or where shall we find another Britain, to supply our loss. Torn from the body to which we are united by religion, liberty, laws, affections, relation, language, and commerce, we must bleed at every vein." In the subsequent letters, the dangers to American liberty were expatiated upon, the objections answered, and the people urged to make a stand for themselves and their posterity peaceably, prudently, firmly, jointly. "You are assigned by Divine Providence, in the appointed order of things the protectors of unborn ages, whose fate depends upon your virtue. Whether they shall arise the generous and indisputable heirs of the noblest patrimonies or the dastardly and hereditary drudges of imperious taskmasters, you must determine."

In December, Sir William Johnson feared an immediate rupture with the Indians, and Gage offered Penn the assistance of troops for the civil officers who might undertake the removal and punishment of the intruders of whom the Indians complained.

Penn explained that in the severity of winter it was impracticable to oblige the people to move from Red Stone creek and Cheat river to the interior parts of Pennsylvania, and it was unadvisable to attempt it before the spring. The Assembly, being appealed to by Penn for a better law and an appropriation to remove the intruders, invited George Croghan and Dixon, the surveyor, before them. The testimony of Croghan given January 7, 1768, was that last September the Six Nations informed Sir William Johnson that the Senecas were greatly dissatisfied because the boundary agreed upon three years before had not been confirmed, and the lands on the side next to the colonies not paid for, while Virginians had settled upon those lands, and nineteen Seneca warriors had been killed when on their way to fight the Cherokees. The Senecas intended to lay their complaints before a meeting of the Delawares, Shawanees, Chippewas, Potowotamies, and Tawas, at which it was designed to form a confederacy between the northern and western Indians. The Senecas had complained, although not recently, of the Conestoga murder: they were a revengeful people. The Assembly, expressing a willingness to pass the bill desired, in a message suggested that the Indians remembered the Conestoga murder, and might feel better disposed towards this province if the murderers should be brought to justice, and urged that the boundary line of the white man's country be speedily established, and so far from the present settlements as to give a region for the frontiersmen to settle and hunt in with impunity. After saying this, the Assembly was vindicated by the receipt of a letter from Sir William Johnson to Galloway acknowledging that the murder of the Conestogas, still fresh in the memory of the Indians, was giving them much pain, and suggesting that the province make them some present on account of it at the coming congress. Accordingly 3,000*l.* were raised for removing their present discontent. Meanwhile, on January 10, 1768, Frederick Stump, of German descent, being visited at his house by five drunken Indians, put them to death

after endeavoring in vain to induce them to go away, and the next day, to cover up his action, went to two cabins fourteen miles off, and killed the woman, two girls, and child whom he found there, and, concealing the bodies in the cabins, burned those down. Stump and the boy in his employ, who had actually killed one woman, were arrested, but about eighty persons with arms and tomahawks forcibly rescued them out of the jail at Carlisle, giving as a reason that a number of white men had been killed by Indians since the peace, and the latter had not been brought to justice. An act was passed on February 3, making the settling on land not purchased by the Proprietaries from the Indians punishable with death. A very important provision was that the offense should be triable in Philadelphia.

In long messages the Assembly blamed Governor Penn for the supineness of the magistrates, they being his appointees, in the disorders on the frontier, and said that it was an easy step from the murder of Indians to the murder of the King's subjects, and triumphantly expressed the conviction that "the powers of government vested in the feeble hands of a Proprietary Governor are too weak to support order in the province or give safety to the people."

On February 20, the Assembly requested the agents in London to co-operate with those of other colonies if they should make application for a repeal of the duties on paper, glass, etc. This was before the arrival of the circular letter from the House of Representatives of Massachusetts.

During the spring, after various conferences, among others one by Croghan at Fort Pitt with many chiefs and chief warriors of the Six Nations, Delawares, Shawanees, Muncys, and Mohicans, in all 1,103 men, women, and children, the Indians were duly appeased with explanations and presents.

On July 30, 1768, a meeting of citizens at the State House in Philadelphia adopted resolutions against importing any of the goods subject to duty by the recent act of Parliament. After-

wards arrived the Earl of Hillsborough's letter to Governor Penn, dated April 21, informing him that King George III considered the letter of the Speaker of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts to be of a most dangerous and factious tendency, and that the Governor should exert his influence to prevail upon the Assembly of Pennsylvania to take no notice of it, and that the repeated proofs which that body had given of "reverence to the Constitution" left little doubt of its showing a proper resentment to this attempt to revive distractions; but if there should appear a disposition to give any countenance to the paper, it would be the Governor's duty immediately to prorogue or dissolve the House. Penn, starting for Fort Stanwix to assist in the treaty there, left this letter for the guidance of the Assembly, about to meet in his absence. The Assembly on September 16 resolved that the Governor had no authority to prorogue or dissolve, and it was the undoubted right of the Assembly to correspond with any of the American colonies to obtain by decent petitions to the King and Parliament redress of any grievances. On the 20th, a petition to the King, and the next day one to the House of Lords and another to the House of Commons were agreed to. These paraphrased in softer language, and adapted to the locality the letter from Massachusetts. That to the King spoke of the settlement of Pennsylvania when a wilderness with a view of enjoying that liberty civil and religious of which the petitioners' ancestors were in a great measure deprived in their native land, and also to extend the British empire, increase its commerce, and promote its wealth and power. With inexpressible labor, toil, and expense, and without assistance from the Mother Country, that wilderness had been peopled, planted, and improved. It was conceived that by no act had the people surrendered up or forfeited their rights and liberties as natural born subjects of the British government; but those rights had been brought over and were vested by inheritance. The duties and taxes for the sole purpose of raising revenue imposed by Parliament upon the Americans, they not being

represented in that body, and being taxable only by themselves or their representatives, were destructive of those rights and without precedent until the passing of the late Stamp Act. . Whenever the King or his royal predecessors had had occasion for aids to defend and secure the colonies, requisitions had been made upon the Pennsylvania Assemblies, "who ever with the utmost cheerfulness and loyalty have granted them," said the petition, "and often so liberally as to exceed the abilities and circumstances of the people." The people of this colony were most zealously attached to the King's royal person. Under a grateful sense of his care and regard for them so often manifested, the petitioners begged him to take the premises into consideration, and grant such relief as to him should appear most proper. The Lords Spiritual and Temporal, "hereditary guardians of British liberty," were told that the people of the province, gratefully sensible of their lordships' wisdom and justice in the repeal of the Stamp Act, had hoped to enjoy in all future time the right of granting aids to the Crown by their own representatives, and were greatly disappointed by an act imposing new duties, equally subversive of this right and tending to render their property most precarious and insecure. It was essential to the liberties of Englishmen that no laws be made to take away their property without their consent, and it was hoped that their lordships would not think any reasons sufficient to deprive the King's subjects in this colony of the privilege, so essential to their security and happiness, of disposing of their own property, and granting aids by their representatives in Assembly. Therefore, they prayed for such measures as their lordships should think most proper to relieve them. The petition to the knights, citizens, and burgesses of Great Britain in Parliament assembled repeated what had been set forth to the King, and said that should Parliament continue to exercise a power of imposing taxes upon the King's subjects not, nor ever able to be, represented in the House, their property and estates must become extremely precarious, as they would have no power

of judging of the propriety of the taxes, no check on the liberality in granting them, no opportunity of pointing out the easiest mode of imposing and levying them, or of explaining grievances, without which it was impossible for the most wise and just legislature to impose taxes with propriety and equity or with safety to those affected by them. Finally relief was prayed for the Americans against a grievance from which the people of Great Britain were exempted, a continuance whereof would, it was feared, create a distinction which must occasion a disunion of interest, sentiments, and affections attended with inconveniences and mischiefs to the trade and commerce of the British as well as American dominions. A letter to the agents in London explained that the petitions had said nothing about the expediency of the taxes as distinguished from the right to levy them. Were it constitutional, the present law was injurious to the Mother Country as well as to America. The colonies were prohibited by several acts of Parliament from importing the manufactures of Europe except Great Britain. If the heavy duties were continued, the Americans would from necessity, interest, or convenience, set up manufactories, and cease from supplying their wants in the articles enumerated from England: so that, instead of the colonies being left "to their natural and proper business, the improvement and cultivation of their lands, and of course increasing the demand for British commodities," the duty would operate as a bounty to manufacture the articles, to the great loss of the British merchant and manufacturer. Another objection, equally applicable to acts laying duties merely for the regulation of trade, was that the duties were to be paid in silver, which would soon make it impossible to pay them at all, and hence must prohibit importation. A third objection was the application of the revenue to the administration of justice and support of civil government. Should the Proprietaries continue to retain the appointment of the Governor and his salary be fixed, he would be rendered altogether independent of the people: and the payment of salaries to judges holding commissions at the

pleasure of the Proprietaries, the universal landlords in Pennsylvania, would be attended with mischiefs obviated in England by the judges being commissioned during good behavior and holding for life. Furthermore the revenue was to be applied for these purposes in such colonies where it should be thought necessary. Thus Pennsylvanians would pay without their consent taxes which might be applied to the use of other colonies.

Old-fashioned German Shaving Dish

Photographed especially for this work by J. F. Sachse

At a general congress at Fort Stanwix held by Sir William Johnson with the Six Nations and the Delawares and Shawanees in October, 1768, Governor Penn being present, a general boundary line between those tribes and the middle colonies was established, and there was sold to the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania most of the central and all the western end of the present State excepting the small strip along Lake Erie. They paid 10,000 dollars for this, and 200 dollars to a Cayuga chief to be distributed to those representing Sohaes murdered in the Lancaster

work-house in 1763 for their pretended claim to 500 acres in Conestoga manor. Certain tracts within the vast region were allotted to the members of the various regiments in the Provincial service. As a precaution against the return of the Connecticut claimants, there was surveyed for the Proprietaries at Wyoming the manor of Stoke, comprising 9,800 acres, with 6 per cent. allowance, upon the southeast side of the North East branch of the Susquehanna extending about equally above and below the mouth of Moses's Creek. Within this manor Charles Stewart induced Benjamin Shoemaker, John Van Campen, and others to take land, thereby, as was supposed, strengthening the Proprietary side in the county.

Almost the first act of the Assembly elected in 1768 was to order Doctor Franklin to purchase at a cost of not over 100*l.* sterling a reflecting telescope with a micrometer for observing the transit of Venus the 3d of June following. On February 10, 1769, 100*l.* were granted to the American Philosophical Society towards defraying the expense of the observation.

On January 4, 1769, a considerable number of the inhabitants of Bucks county asked the Assembly to issue paper money in the old method upon mortgage of real estate, and promised to use it although it could not be legal tender. Similar petitions followed from the city and county of Philadelphia, from Bucks, Chester, Lancaster, York, and Berks. The House on the 19th, unanimously resolved that long experience had manifested that the emissions of bills of credit theretofore made on loans to the people had answered the purposes of a circulating medium, greatly promoted the settlement of the colony, and increased its trade and commerce as well foreign as domestic, and that a further quantity issued on proper and solid funds was necessary. A bill was prepared for striking the sum of 120,000*l.* in bills of credit to be emitted on loan, but it failed to become a law because the Governor insisted upon, among other things, a voice in the disposition of the interest arising, and upon naming half of the trustees of the

loan office. Accordingly no further issue of paper money was authorized until Feb. 26, 1773, when Lieutenant-Governor Richard Penn had the seal affixed to an act to emit 150,000*l.* in bills of credit on loan.

The merchants of Philadelphia adopted non-importation resolutions in 1769 similar to the celebrated agreement of 1765. The first case infringing these was the arrival of a ship laden with malt in July. At a public meeting, at which the brewers of the city attended, and declared that they would not use it, a resolution was passed that no one should purchase or assist in handling it; so the vessel returned to England with its cargo.

The Susquehanna company, availing itself of the withdrawal of the Indians, and there ceasing to be any occasion for the interference of Sir William Johnson, determined to prosecute its claims with vigor. At a meeting held at Hartford, Connecticut, Dec. 28, 1768, it was voted that forty persons upwards of twenty-one years of age, proprietors in the purchase, and approved by certain commissioners, proceed to take possession by the 1st of February, and two hundred more by the 1st of May; that 200*l.* be appropriated for materials and provisions for said forty; that five townships be laid out each of five miles square, three townships on one side of the Susquehanna River, and two opposite them, the forty persons first coming to choose a township, which should be divided among them in addition to their shares in the rest of the company's property, the two hundred persons coming in the spring to receive the four other townships in addition to their shares, three shares in each township to be set apart for a Gospel minister and schools, the grant of the holdings to be conditioned upon occupation and improvement for five years, and upon good behavior, and upon not holding any part of the company's land under pretense of any other title than the company's. All iron and coal were reserved for after disposal. Isaac Tripp, Benjamin Follett, John Jenkins, William Buck, and Benjamin Shoemaker were to superintend the affairs of the forty first coming, including the

laying out of a road to the Susquehanna river; and upon the arrival of the whole two hundred persons, they might increase this latter committee to nine, who should then regulate the affairs of the settlers until further order, with power with the consent of a majority of the settlers voting at a meeting to expel and declare forfeited the right of any person among them for disorderly behavior or being inconsistent with the good and interest of the company, unless the company on appeal should otherwise determine. More than the forty persons were induced to set out with William Buck, who had been a member of the previous settlement: and they arrived at Nicholas Dupue's in the Minisink region by Saturday, February 4, whence they were to start for Wyoming on February 6. Charles Stewart and John Jennings, the sheriff of Northampton, were at the latter place with a very few of the tenants of the manor, and wrote to Lewis Gordon, a justice, for warrants of arrest, and to John Penn for further orders. On Gordon's warrants, Jennings arrested Isaac Tripp, Vine Elderkin, and Benjamin Follett, who with over thirty, most of them armed, arrived before the 12th. Their companions declared that they would go back. Gordon bound over the three to keep the peace. The Governor of Pennsylvania wrote to the Governor of Connecticut: " . . . The consequence therefore of these deluded People's persisting in their unwarrantable designs must be a scene of violence. . . . I can not suppose that the government of Connecticut will encourage a procedure so unreasonable and illegal . . . and it is under this expectation that I now apply to your Honor. . . ." When, in March, Jennings proceeded with a posse to Lachnawanack to demand peaceable possession of the land there, he found two houses built, one of them being a strong log house for defence, and the intruders ready to fight. Attempting to seize some of them, Jennings was struck twice, but, having forced one of the buildings, and taken those who had retired to it, he received the surrender of the rest, and started with thirty-one prisoners for

Easton. Some escaped; the rest found bail. On May 12 one hundred and forty-six New England men and others, most of the company being on horseback, passed Charles Stewart's house, and encamped on the east side of the river, while it was expected that as many more would follow the next day, and also that about one hundred persons from Lancaster county, headed by James McClure, would cast in their lot with them. The Proprietary force at hand was then but twenty-four men, who were instructed not to shed blood with such overwhelming force against them. Governor Penn wrote to Colonel Francis at Augusta that to eject such numbers would require too large a body for the Proprietaries to go to the expense of raising; all that could be done was to retain what possessions their people had, in which those dwelling at Shamokin might be of assistance, and to prevent if possible any Pennsylvanians from joining the New Englanders. Francis led sixty men to Wyoming, and on June 22 demanded a surrender, but as at least twenty strong log houses with loop holes for guns had been built, he withdrew without further hostilities. An agreement made at Easton that the New Englanders would leave, is mentioned in a letter from Governor Penn of August 24, as broken: the writs against those indicted were to be executed. In September, some of those who had been bound over for trial were convicted, and condemned to pay each a fine of 10*l.* and costs. In November, Amos and Nathan Ogden brought two hundred persons with a cannon to arrest those indicted for forcible entry. Then a compromise was effected and embodied in a written agreement reciting the expense upon those indicted of standing trial and the hardship of their going to jail if they could not get bail, and the desire of all parties to prevent shedding of blood and future quarrels between the tenants and purchasers settled at Susquehanna under the Proprietaries, and those claiming under the Susquehanna company or Connecticut grant; therefore it was agreed between John Jennings, Amos Ogden, and Charles Stewart, on behalf of the Proprietaries, and John Smith and Stephen Gardner,

on behalf of the Susquehanna Land Company, that the fort and buildings and houses be immediately delivered to Jennings, Ogden, and Stewart, and that all people then at Wyoming claiming under or in conjunction with the Connecticut men depart in three days, except fourteen men who should dwell in six of the houses or apartments in the fort with their wives and children until a Royal order declaring the title be received, by which both parties bound themselves to abide; meanwhile not more than five strangers of the Susquehanna Company be entertained, and they not longer than three days at a time, and that until said order or decree be made known the fort, houses, etc., be enjoyed by the settlers and purchasers under the Proprietaries. This was dated November 14, 1769. Stephen Gardner was among those allowed to remain. The arrangement did not result in permanent peace. Injuries and reprisals continually embroiled the parties, the fourteen being at times assisted by various visitors or settlers not from New England only but from other parts of Pennsylvania. There was a general complaint among the inhabitants of Lebanon and Hanover townships, Lancaster county, if not elsewhere, as to the conduct of the Proprietaries' land agents. The ill feeling among the frontiersmen who for years had felt themselves badly treated by the government was turned to jealousy when the officers of Northampton county introduced persons from New Jersey to wage war upon the people at Wyoming, for war was what the execution of the court's writs involved. Major John Durkee, the leading man in one of the settlements, was indicted by the Pennsylvania court, and taken to Easton jail, where he remained two years. In one of the struggles for the possession of Fort Durkee, when the sheriff had brought a posse of eighty men, Nathan Ogden was treacherously shot by Lazarus Stewart, who had been a participant in the murder of the Indians at the Lancaster work-house in 1763, and who, having brought a party from Hanover to drive out "the Jersey people," had been recently twice arrested and twice rescued. Three others of the posse were wounded, but their oppo-

nents evacuated the fort at nightfall. After hearing of this, the Assembly, which loyally supported the Proprietaries in this dispute, recommended a reward of 300*l.* for the delivery of Lazarus Stewart to the sheriff of Philadelphia county, and on February 9, 1771, passed an act for preventing tumults and riotous assemblies and for the more speedy and effectual punishing of the rioters, making the penalty death.

In 1770, Parliament repealed the duties on glass, etc., leaving that upon tea, and in due course of time, despite various meetings in Philadelphia, trade was resumed with England except in tea, a cargo of which was sent back.

Richard Jackson resigned the position of Agent of the Province of Pennsylvania in London in 1770, leaving Benjamin Franklin sole agent.

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